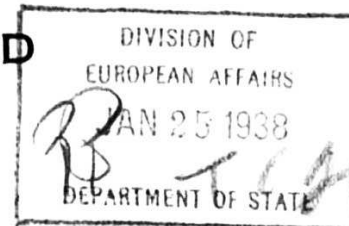


TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LMS

opo

GRAY
FROM
London



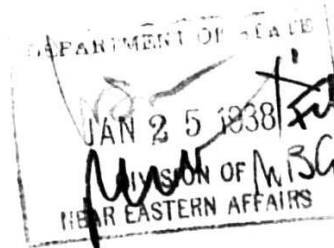
Dated January 24, 1938

Rec'd 3:30 p. m.,

Secretary of State,
Washington.

56, January 24, 7 p. m.

My 53, ³⁶³ January 22, 2 p. m.



Following excerpts from leading editorial in this morning's YORKSHIRE POST (see third paragraph, my 780, December 16, 1 p. m.) on forthcoming League Council meeting may be of interest:

"Mr. Eden will meet M. Delbos for conversation before both go to Geneva. Mr. Eden will undoubtedly seek to ascertain the precise bearing of statements made by the Foreign Ministers of several member states regarding the 'regularization' of their relations with Italy in relation to the conquest of Abyssinia. (* * *) The conquest of Abyssinia was recognized de facto by the withdrawal of the British Minister at Addis Ababa and his replacement by a consular official but de jure recognition of the King as Emperor is linked up with the whole problem of Anglo-Italian relations. It is suggested from various quarters that there appear to be lines along which some further approach should

now

365D.01/364

FILED

JAN 27 1938

N/C

LMS 2-No. 56, January 24, 7 p. m., from London.

now be possible but there are so far no indications that an opening will be sought by any British move at Geneva.

(*) (*) (*) It is certain that in the major problems of acute international dissension the League as at present constituted cannot operate; for example in the Far Eastern war where the League cannot intervene without risk of doing much more harm than good. Whether in this particular instance something like the old concert of Europe which had, while it operated, no such 'ideological' implication, could be revived, with American participation, for the purpose of ending a ruinous struggle, is another question. (*) (*) (*) If some common diplomatic action could succeed in the Far East, then a new confidence would be created in joint action generally for the preservation of peace, prevention of aggression and also for economic and financial cooperation."

JOHNSON

CSB

JR

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

A portion of this telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (B)

Rome

Dated January 25, 1938

FROM 11 Rec'd 8:30 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

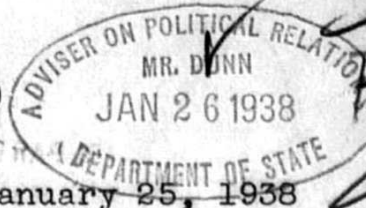


13, January 25, noon.

(GRAY) Italian newspapers this morning carry a report from London stating that the International News Service "has learned from Washington that a British demarche was in fact made but that the United States Government limited its reply to stating that if Great Britain considers it opportune to recognize the Italian Empire in East Africa the United States is not in no way opposed thereto provided the British Government feels that such recognition may be of assistance in the general pacification of Europe". (END GRAY)

There is a feeling here that if the meeting of the League Council this week does not offer some solution to the problem of the recognition of the Italian Empire the entire matter will be postponed indefinitely and my British colleague therefore welcomes the above press report. He believes that the British representative at Geneva will do what he can to persuade Delbos to adopt a conciliatory attitude but if he fails, Great Britain will have to accept the French position. Lord

Perth



865D.01/365

JAN 26 1938

ATTN

-2- #13, January 25, noon from Rome.

Perth is of the opinion that as soon as Great Britain can give recognition to the Empire the long postponed conversations between the two governments can take place but that nothing can be accomplished in the respect without Empire recognition. Therefore the attitude of Delbos is eagerly awaited here.

PHILLIPS

HPD

819 39.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 700.00/182 Confidential File FOR memo

FROM State Dept. Secretary (Hull) DATED Jan. 17, 1938
TO _____ NAME _____ 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING: Recognition of Ethiopian conquest
by Italy

Such recognition would be capitalized
by desperado nations and heralded as a
virtual ratification of the opposing
policy of outright treaty violation,
and treaty wrecking, and the seizure
of properties by force of arms.

dg

856D.01/366

366

January 28 1938

CONFIDENTIAL - FOR STAFF USE ONLY

No. 2127

Herschel V. Johnson, Esquire,
American Chargé d'Affaires ad interim,
London.

Sir:

451.01/366
There is enclosed, for your strictly confidential information and record, a memorandum of a conversation which I had with the British Ambassador at Washington on January 17, 1938, relating to a possible move by the British Government to recognize, de jure, the Italian regime in Abyssinia.

Very truly yours,

Cordell Hull

451.01/366
Enclosure:

Memorandum of conversation,
January 17, 1938.

451.01/366
Eu:RTP:RI 1/25
1/26

365D.01/366

January 28 1938

CONFIDENTIAL - FOR STAFF USE ONLY

No. 653

The Honorable

William C. Bullitt,
American Ambassador,
Paris.

Sir:

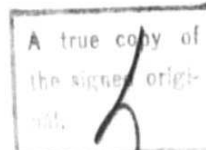
There is enclosed, for your strictly confidential information and record, a memorandum of a conversation which I had with the British Ambassador at Washington on January 17, 1938, relating to a possible move by the British Government to recognize, de jure, the Italian regime in Abyssinia.

Very truly yours,

Cordell Hull

Enclosure:

Memorandum of conversation,
January 17,
1938.



CR
ROUTED
JAN 27 1938 PM

Eu: JONE:RI 1/25
1/26

865D.01/366

January 28 1938

CONFIDENTIAL - FOR STAFF USE ONLY

No. 248

The Honorable

William Phillips,

American Ambassador,

Rome.

Sir:

There is enclosed, for your strictly confidential information and record, a memorandum of a conversation which I had with the British Ambassador at Washington on January 17, 1938, relating to a possible move by the British Government to recognize, de jure, the Italian regime in Abyssinia.

Very truly yours,

Cordell Hull

Enclosure:

Memorandum of conversation,
January 17,
1938.

A true copy of
the record is

Routine

Eu:RTP:RI 1/25
1/26

365D.01/366

865d.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 857.00 P.R./168 FOR #100

FROM Norway (Patterson) DATED Dec. 31, 1937
TO NAME 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING: Norway has declined initiative of the Netherland
Government for recognition of Ethiopia by
Oslo states. Press article concerning-

mb

865D.01 / 367

367

2. Norway Has Declined Initiative of the Netherland Government for Recognition of Ethiopia by Oslo States.

The Oslo Press of December 22 publishes a despatch from The Hague stating that it is authoritatively reported that the Netherland Government has made representations to the signatories of the Oslo Convention with a view to joint action toward a settlement of difficulties connected with the recognition of Italy's sovereignty over Ethiopia.

It was recommended that the Oslo States urge the Western Powers (France and Great Britain) to give such recognition. Negotiations between the Netherland Government and those of the other signatories of the Oslo Convention have not yet been concluded.

Foreign Minister Koht of Norway confirms the receipt of such representations from the Netherland Government about two months ago, when the Norwegian Government replied that for the time being there was no need to make representations in this respect to the Western Powers. Since then, he had heard nothing more on this subject from the Netherland Government. Mr. Koht also referred to a statement made in the Storting last June when he said that the question of Italy's sovereignty over Ethiopia was a matter which ought to be determined by the Big Powers which should assume the principal responsibility for the situation.

AFTEN STEN of December 29 carries a report that Emperor Haile Selassie has telegraphed the Oslo States, expressing his anxiety over the above representations of the Netherland Government, and appealing to the individual States to sustain the policy which defends international law.

Note: On inquiry on December 30, 1937, of Mr. Tostrup, Chief of the Political Division of the Foreign Office, I was informed that the press notice (AFTENPOSTEN, December 29) regarding an exchange

exchange of telegrams between former Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia and King Haakon of Norway was correct. The King had informed Haile Selassie that the Norwegian Government had declined a proposition from the Netherlands by which Norway had been invited to associate itself with the Netherlands in approaching the Great Powers with a view to recognition of the Italian seizure of Ethiopia.

The Norwegian Government thus appears to have rejected the proposal of the Netherland Government to the Oslo Powers two months before.

JR

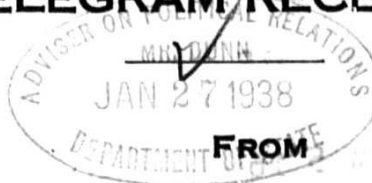
TELEGRAM RECEIVED

GRAY

London

Dated January 26, 1938

Rec'd 3:50 p.m.



Secretary of State,
Washington.

62, January 26, 7 p.m.

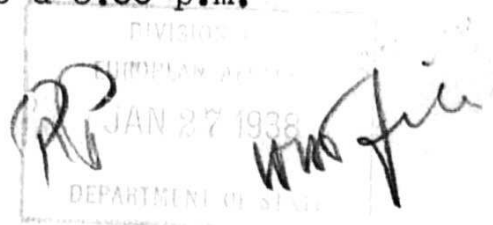
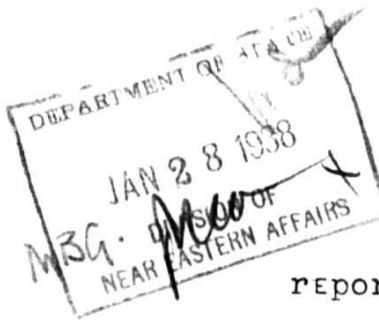
Embassy's 53, January 22, 2 p.m.

The Department may be interested to know that the report is current in newspaper circles here that the British Ambassador at Washington discussed the problem of recognition of Abyssinia with the State Department and that Monday's Cabinet meeting, prior to Eden's departure for Geneva, was specially called to discuss the report. It is said that at the regular meeting on the previous Friday the subject of Abyssinian recognition was brought up and that Eden opposed the pro-recognition group with the argument that such a step would have a harmful effect on Anglo-American relations. It was therefore decided to consult Washington.

This account has not appeared in the above form in any London newspaper but it has been reported that an approach has been made to the United States and that "America will thus in effect withhold recognition until Britain reaches an agreement with Mussolini".

JOHNSON

KLP:NPL



865D.01/368

JAN 28 1938

FILED

Kalamazoo
Michigan
January 24 1938

To Mr. Hull.

8651.01
The majority
of USA people of the dem.
- may are opposed to any
Recognition of Fascist
anti-democratic perils
conquest of Ethiopia.
If it ever Recognizes
the Anti-democratic Fascist
conquest of Ethiopia, then
the USA people will
demand a change in
our government having
official that do stand
there is no room neither
Ernest Reed

P.S. USA fought in 1917/1918
so that they would not
be and such Fascist dream
Ethiopia, Spain, and
China

Acknowledged
By Form B
File SS

FEB 7 1938

NE
SS
Form "H"

JAN 27 1938
M36 DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

36510.01/369

FILED
FEB 7 - 1938

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.00/276 UNCLASSIFIED FILE FOR tel #10 1pm

FROM Poland (Biddle) DATED Jan.25, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 cfo

REGARDING: Consideration at forthcoming Geneva meeting
of recognition of Italy's Abyssinian conquest

British Delegation to propose matter be referred
to committee for study. British desire to
postpone action until next Council meeting
in order to gain time for Britain's pushing
conversations with Rome as well as Berlin
looking to a general European settlement.

dg

865D.01/370

CONFIDENTIAL FILE

370

McL

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (a)

Warsaw

Dated January 25, 1938.

Received 12.18 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

10, January 25, 1 p.m.

CONFIDENTIAL FOR THE SECRETARY.

841.00
One. Referring to paragraph four of my cable number 4, I am confidentially informed here Chamberlain's government associates prevailed upon him not to commit Britain to early general election.

8659.01
Two. Regarding forthcoming GENEVA meeting, if and when BELgium or Oslo Convention states move for consideration of recognition of ^{Italy's} Abyssinian conquest British Delegation will propose matter be referred to committee for study. British Delegation intends thus to postpone action until next Council meeting in order to gain time for Britain's pushing conversations with Rome as well as Berlin looking to a general European settlement.

BIDDLE

HPD

276

8658.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.00/275 ^{Confidential File} FOR Tel. #125 2p.m.

FROM France (Bullitt) DATED January 24, 1938
TO NAME 1-1137 GPO

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL FOR THE SECRETARY:

REGARDING: Eden and Delbos to discuss possible recognition of King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia. At present time France is opposed to such recognition while the British Cabinet is in dispute. But for the moment the British Government has decided to be guided by the position of the French Government and Eden would welcome a negative report.

jel

8658.01 / 371

Confidential File

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

865D.01/

SEE 740.00/277 Confidential File FOR Tel. #136,3pm

FROM France (Bullitt) DATED January 25, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 670

REGARDING: Delbos expressed belief that as long as Eden is Minister of Foreign Affairs, England would not recognize the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia.

jel

865D.01/372

372
Confidential File

865d.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 711.652/152 FOR letter

~~FROM~~ Phillips (Phillips) DATED Jan. 13, 1938

TO Italy

NAME

1-1127

...

REGARDING: Recognition of the Conquest of Ethiopia

Treaty negotiations between the United States
and Italy must be considered at a standstill
if Italy insists upon-.

dg

865D.01/373

373

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 711.652/151 FOR Des. #760

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED Jan. 14, 1938
// NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

Italo-American Trade Negotiations - Newspaper article
entitled "American Denial of a London Lie" relating to the report
that the Italo-American trade negotiations had broken down over the
question of recognition of the Italian Empire.

ML

865d.01

865D.01/374

374



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
The Hague, Netherlands,
January 18, 1938.

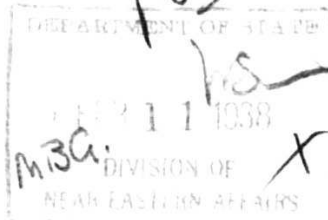
No. 146

1938 JAN 29 PM 12 14

SUBJECT: PRESS REACTION TO NETHERLANDS INITIATIVE
FOR FINDING SUITABLE MEANS OF ACCREDITING
NEW ENVOYS TO ITALY



FEB 10 1938



365D.01/375

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

Adverting to the Legation's despatch No. 141, of January 13, I have the honor to report that the local press continues to follow carefully Foreign Minister Patijn's initiative vis-à-vis the States of the Oslo group for finding suitable means of accrediting new envoys to Italy. News despatches from interested capitals, purporting to set forth prevailing points of view and reactions, have been given prominence, and there have been a number of editorials...

FEB 17 1938

RTT

editorials and articles.

On January 14, the liberal NIEUWE ROTTERDAMSCH E COUR-
ANT gave prominence to a letter from its London correspon-
dent, in which the latter gives what he claims to be the
British point of view with regard to the question of the
recognition of Abyssinia. The pertinent portions of this
1/. letter, in translation, are enclosed herewith as of interest.

In its same issue the NIEUWE ROTTERDAMSCH E COURANT,
which has always shown itself noncommittal in commenting
upon Dr. Patijn's initiative, quotes without comment a warm
defense thereof, which appeared in the UTRECHTSCH DAGBLAD
(liberal). This quotation is as follows:

"Whether, and to what extent, the Minis-
ter's consultations with the Oslo States were
necessary, and whether these consultations have
been, or will be, extended to other Powers, can-
not be judged by an outsider, or even by a mem-
ber of the States General*****

It may be asked whether those people who
revealed Dr. Patijn's initiative in this country,
as well as abroad, realize the importance of what
they have done, and in so doing have given proper
consideration to the interests of the Netherlands,
and perhaps also to those of Europe as well.
Those people who properly understand what Dr. Pa-
tijn said in the First Chamber must realize that
he is fully conscious of the great responsibility
he has undertaken*****

The Netherlands has always found that its
policy of independence - a policy of peace - is
the right one. We rejoice that the present Min-
ister for Foreign Affairs is not deviating from
this beneficial policy. The position of the Neth-
erlands in Europe, Asia and America is vulner-
able*****

Much more so than the Governments of the
Scandinavian countries has the Netherlands to
reckon with the possibilities of a conflict in
the Mediterranean*****

It....

It is not to be expected that a Minister for Foreign Affairs should publish all the information at his disposal in the present stage of the negotiations concerning Netherlands-Italian relations. A member of the States General should recognize this fact."

In its issue of January 15, the weekly HAAGSCHE POST (published simultaneously in Batavia and The Hague) gives prominence to an article seeking to justify itself for having made public, in its issue of December 18, 1937, Dr. Patijn's initiative vis-à-vis the Oslo States.

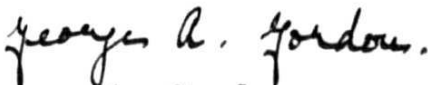
"Before we published this news", this newspaper observes, "we have carefully considered the question whether publication would or would not be in the public interest. We have seen too much mischief result from secret diplomacy to be very much in favor of it; on the other hand, we know enough of public affairs not to recognize the fact that it is sometimes inadvisable to watch closely a politician or diplomat at work. For this very reason we are of the opinion that a démarche in eight countries must be a public secret, that Minister Patijn would presumably not have failed to inform Great Britain and France, at least unofficially, of the steps he proposed to take, and, finally, that public affairs can be openly discussed in the free press. And to be quite frank, we may add that we have taken into account that the present leader of Foreign Affairs, who only very recently was Netherlands Minister in the country of Machiavelli, was undertaking something which he believed would be agreeable to Italy and which he could effect without the possibility of too much evil resulting."

On January 17, the VOORUIT, the official organ of the Social Democratic Labor Party, after referring to an article in a provincial newspaper, which was particularly condemnatory of Dr. Patijn's initiative, wrote editorially as follows:

Dr....

"Dr. Patijn - so we read - did not stick to the wise rule which all billiard players recognize, namely, 'aim first and then shoot'. It is not true that Patijn's effort to obtain recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia would be welcome to Great Britain and France. On the contrary, these nations want to keep recognition as a bargaining point, and this for a good reason, namely, to bring about the restoration of collective security which our Prime Minister, out of an evidently irresistible impulse and without weighing his words, has declared to be dead. (Dr. Colijn's interview with the representative of a French newspaper - see Legation's despatch No. 127, of January 4, 1938.) Fortunately for the Netherlands, this is not true. Colijn's words were 'indescribably ill-considered'."

Respectfully yours,


George A. Gordon.

✓
Enclosure:

1. Translation
of letter.

File No. 701

In quintuplicate

JWB:ekd

American Legation,
The Hague, Netherlands,
January 18, 1938.

SOURCE: NIEUWE ROTTERDAMSCH
COURANT, Evening Edition,
January 14, 1938.

TRANSLATION

MINISTER PATIJN'S INITIATIVE

Letter from London Correspondent:

"In connection with the First Chamber debates on the initiative of the Netherlands Government for the recognition de facto of Italy's conquest of Abyssinia it may be of interest to explain the British attitude in regard to this question.*****

In certain circles it seems to have caused surprise that the Netherlands Minister consulted the Oslo States on the possibility of a recognition de facto without having ascertained whether the end which he hoped to achieve thereby, namely, to move London and Paris to proceed to a similar recognition, was susceptible of materialization. In other words, some people were astonished that the Minister, before he approached the Oslo States, did not inquire in London and Paris whether the two capitals would eventually be prepared to join the Oslo States. At the same time, other people expressed the opinion that, even without making inquiries, the Minister could have understood that London and Paris at the present moment were not in favor of recognition.

This point of view, and the blame it implies, seem however to be due to a misapprehension.

In the first place there is good reason to believe that the Minister intended to carry through the form of recognition he had in view, even in the event that the two great Powers should reject the proposal of the Oslo States. The agreement on the part of London and Paris therefore was not an indispensable condition for the success of the plan. The following point is more important.

Those who blame the Minister for imperiling the good relations with these two Powers, by carrying through the plan in spite of the fact that London and Paris for reasons of international policy would not be in a position to accept the Netherlands initiative, forget one thing - the element of time. It is perhaps true that London and Paris in December, when the Netherlands initiative became known, were averse to recognizing Abyssinia. It should be borne in mind, however, that the initiative originated much earlier. It is not certain when the first step was taken, but it is clear that it was prior to October, which does not exclude the fact that the plan and the preliminary steps dated much earlier.

It...

It is no secret that at the time of the session of the League of Nations in September, before Italy made difficulties as a result of its attitude toward the conference of Nyon, the Great Powers manifested a general tendency in favor of recognition. Also thereafter, when Great Britain and France invited Italy in the first week of October to the still-born Three-Power Conference, the attitude of these two Powers with regard to a possible recognition, which would then have had to serve as a compensation for the withdrawal of Italian troops from Spain, certainly could not be called an absolute refusal.

Therefore, if Minister Patijn at that time commenced to sound the Oslo States the expectation that the attitude of London and Paris toward the Netherlands initiative would eventually not be negative was certainly justifiable.

Seen in this light, the reproach that Patijn had misjudged international political conditions loses much of its strength.

As regards the attitude of Great Britain in respect to the problem whether, and in what circumstances, Great Britain might herself be in a position to recognize Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia there are two sides.

First, a diplomatic side. As Mussolini is very keen on a recognition de jure, Great Britain holds a trump card, and in politics trumps are not put on the table without compensation. In what should this compensation consist?

With regard to this question there are two views. Those people who adhere to the first view believe that an atmospheric compensation is sufficient; they feel that it would be worth while to improve the Anglo-Italian atmosphere. Mussolini will not be prepared to talk business before we have recognized Abyssinia, so they reason.

Those people who adhere to the second view are absolutely against recognition. They do not believe in an improvement in Anglo-Italian relations; they do not expect more than resulted from the famous Gentleman's Agreement. They want to keep the trump in hand until Italy is prepared to offer concrete compensation in the form of a tangible change in her Mediterranean policy.

It is hard to say which of the two views is preponderant in the British Cabinet. There is no doubt, however, that in official circles the problem is seen in the light of a realistic policy.

In addition to the diplomatic side, the problem has a domestic aspect. (General Elections in the course of this year!) This explains why London still adheres to the trans-

parent...

transparent thesis that recognition is a matter for the League of Nations.

Finally, the writer wishes to call attention to a misapprehension which is perhaps more wide-spread in England than in our country (Holland).

Many people are opposed to a recognition because 'it would open the British capital market to Italy'. There is no question of it. The British capital market continues to be 'fenced in' by the embargo on foreign loans which applies to all countries; it is true that this embargo can be abrogated in special circumstances which require the approval of the Treasury, but it has nothing to do with the recognition of Abyssinia."

7652.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 841d.01/151 FOR despatch #41

FROM Ireland (Cudahy) DATED Jan.3, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Government of Italy

statement of de Valera that while directing
letters of credence to King of Italy as
Emperor of Abyssinia appeared to put the fiat
of approval upon Italy's conquest it was simply
a recognition of existing facts and took into
consideration a de facto status of the King
in regard to Abyssinia rather than a de jure one.

dg

865D.01/376

865D.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.65/453 FOR Tel. #17, 2 p.m.

FROM Geneva (Bucknell) DATED Jan. 28, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 SPO

REGARDING: Bova Scoppa expressed strong resentment at the British failure to realize that a recognition of the Ethiopian conquest was a necessary prelude to any settlement.

mb

865D.01/377

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

January 31, 1938

1938 JAN 31 PM 2 29

DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS
MEMORANDUM FOR
AND RECORDS

STATE DEPARTMENT

FOR NECESSARY ACTION AND RETURN.

F. L. R.

February 9 1938



FEB 12 1938

FILED

COPY

5, Prince's Gate,

S.W.7.

IMPERIAL ETHIOPIAN LEGATION
London

January 15th, 1938.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honour to thank you heartily in the name of His Majesty The Emperor of Ethiopia and the Ethiopian People for your right and noble act in refusing to recognize the unjust and precarious occupation and pretended sovereignty of the King of Italy over the Ethiopian Empire.

Such a firm stand for international right and justice on the part of the Head of the great American People is a great encouragement for us and for all weak peoples and a noble example to the world, and we have no doubt that perseverance in these vital moral principles by the great democracies will in the end overcome all difficulties and bring peace and security to the peoples of the world.

I have the honour to be,

With the highest consideration,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

W. C. MARTIN

February 9 1938

In reply refer to
NE 865D.01/378

865D.01/378

My dear Mr. McIntyre:

In accordance with the President's memorandum of January 31, 1938, I am returning the letter of January 15 addressed to the President by Dr. W. C. Martin on behalf of Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia.

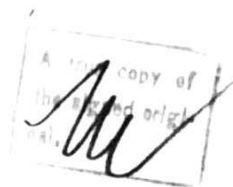
The Department has instructed the Embassy at London to make appropriate acknowledgment of Dr. Martin's communication.

Sincerely yours,

Sumner Welles

Enclosure:

From Dr. Martin,
January 15, 1938.



THE HONORABLE

Marvin H. McIntyre,

XXXXXXXXXX Secretary to the President,

The White House.

NE MBG/LS

MBG

February 9 1938

No. 2144

Herschel V. Johnson, Esquire,
American Chargé d'Affaires ad interim,
London.

Sir:

I enclose a copy of a letter dated January 15, 1938, addressed to the President by Dr. W. C. Martin, expressing the gratification of Emperor Haile Selassie over the policies of this Government. You are requested to make appropriate acknowledgment on behalf of the President.

Very truly yours,

For the Secretary of State:

Sumner Welles

Enclosure:

From Dr. W. C. Martin,
January 15, 1938.



865D.01/378

865D.01/378

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 783,003/327 FOR memorandum

FROM State Department (Murray) DATED Jan. 26, 1938
TO Near Eastern Div. NAME 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING:

Description of the head of the Italian State as Emperor of Ethiopia in the preamble of the Montreux Capitulations Convention.

Quotes from minutes of the Conference concerning - and suggests that memorandum on the matter be sent to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

865D.01/379

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 783.003/327 FOR letter

FROM (Pittman) DATED Jan. 29, 1938
TO U.S. Senate NAME 1-1127 SPO
Foreign Relations Comm.

REGARDING:

Description of the head of the Italian State as Emperor of
Ethiopia in the preamble of the Montreux Capitulations Convention.

Encloses memorandum concerning -.

865D.01/380 380

3
RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS
MEMORANDUM

1938 FEB 7 AM 9 32

January 26, 1938

The Secretary
U
Mr. Welles
LNE

7658.01
The Rome Embassy quotes the Informazione Diplomatica of January 5, 1938, with reference to the recognition of the Ethiopian Empire, as follows:

(1) De jure recognition has been made formally by:

Germany
Switzerland
Austria
Hungary
Yugoslavia
Albania
Spain
Japan
Manchukuo
Yemen
Poland

(2) Representatives in Rome have been accredited to the King-Emperor from the following countries:

Chile
Panama
Guatamala
Ecuador
Ireland
Nicaragua
Rumania (Jan 6, 1938)

(3) Other countries have informed the Italian Government they are disposed to do so in the near future (not specified).

(4) De facto recognition of the exercise of Italian sovereignty over the territory of the former Abyssinian Empire, ^{has been made} by the following:

England
France
Belgium
Greece
Bulgaria
Czechoslovakia
Turkey
Iran
Peru
Haiti

Eu:Hamlin:LF
J.H.

865D.01/381

RECEIVED
FEB 8 1938

PM

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 760p.65/5 FOR Despatch #1085

FROM LATVIA (Packer) DATED January 24, 1938.
TO NAME 1-1137 sps

REGARDING: Question of Latvian recognition of Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

Report -.

hc

86JD.01/382

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.65/454 ~~SECRET~~ FOR Tel. # 20, 1 p.m.

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED February 3, 1938.
TO _____ NAME _____ 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING: Conversations with Italian officials with regard to relations between Great Britain and Italy. Officials assured that Italy had no military agreement with Japan and that British recognition of the Empire was expected soon. It is believed by these officials that an understanding would soon be reached between Great Britain, which would be the solution to the European situation. One official expressed the opinion that the British would not negotiate with Italy until their armament program had been completed.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.65/455 FOR Tel. 98, 8 pm

FROM Great Britain (Johnson) DATED Feb. 4, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING: Italian Empire in Abyssinia.
Difficulty in effecting a rapprochement with
Italy is the de jure recognition of --.

dg

865D.01/384

S



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

DATE: February 2, 1938

SUBJECT:

PARTICIPANTS: The British Ambassador, Sir Ronald Lindsay;
The Under Secretary.

COPIES TO: S only.



865D.01/385

GPO 1-1493

The British Ambassador called to see me this afternoon. The Ambassador stated that Mr. Eden had spoken to him on the telephone yesterday afternoon and had asked if the Ambassador could give him any indication whether the President had reached any decision with regard to going ahead with the plan which had been discussed with the British Government. After this telephone conversation with Mr. Eden the Ambassador had spoken to me on the telephone with regard to it and I told him that it would be impossible for me to give him any reply until I had spoken with the President. I now told the Ambassador that I had spoken to the President this morning and that the President had asked me to let the Ambassador

865D.01/385
741-1-1
23/1/1938

FEB 10 1938

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Communications Section

know for the information of his Government that he expected to be able to give some indication to the British Government within the next few days of what his plans would be and that for the immediate moment the President had nothing more definite to say.

The Ambassador then asked whether the President had anything further to say on the subject of the recognition by the British Government of the conquest of Ethiopia in connection with the statements made by Mr. Chamberlain in his second personal message to the President. I replied to the Ambassador that it had seemed to me that the position of the President was set forth with complete and entire clarity in the President's personal message to the Prime Minister and that in view of that message from the President there was obviously nothing which could be added to it. The Ambassador said that this was his own opinion but that he merely wanted to be sure that his own understanding was accurate. The Ambassador added that there was obviously extreme pressure being brought to bear on Mr. Eden to renew the conversations with Italy and reminded me that the Prime Minister had very clearly indicated in his last message to the President that the negotiations envisaged would undoubtedly be long protracted and that obviously no announcement of

-3-

the British Government's basis for negotiations would be made public for a considerable time to come.

751.65
The Ambassador then said that Mr. Eden had told him that he had had the conversation with M. Delbos, the French Foreign Minister, at Geneva which had originally been scheduled for January 16 as referred to in the first message from the Prime Minister to the President on the subject of negotiations with Italy. Mr. Eden had told Sir Ronald that the conversations with M. Delbos had been entirely satisfactory and that the French Government would support the position of the British Government in the course of the projected conversations with Italy to the fullest extent. The Ambassador remarked that the relations between France and Italy at the present time were so bad that the two Governments were actually not on speaking terms and that for Great Britain to have to enter these conversations carrying the load of France on her back constituted a very serious obstacle. He said, however, that no appeasement of the Mediterranean area was possible without the conclusion of a satisfactory agreement between Italy and France as well as between Italy and Great Britain, and that, therefore, this was indispensable.

I took this occasion of speaking to the Ambassador

-4-

452.01
with considerable frankness of the conversation I had had with the Italian Ambassador yesterday in so far as our conversation related to the Mediterranean. The Ambassador listened with great interest and said that he thought that Suvich still possessed the entire confidence of Mussolini and had spoken with authority. He himself did not indicate with any precision, however, what the British attitude would be in the projected negotiations beyond stating that the British wanted a great deal, and merely itemized defortification of Libya, disarmament in the Mediterranean, and assurances that any government that might exist in Spain would not be the catspaw of Italy. He added that this latter point, he assumed, would be the crux of the negotiation. He expressed surprise at the attitude of the Italian Government as conveyed by the Italian Ambassador in London to Mr. Eden and which conformed to what Suvich had said to me, namely, that the recognition of the conquest of Ethiopia was practically all that the Italians desired, and referred to this as being satisfied with what was purely "tinsel".

The Ambassador gave me further to understand that the British intended now to press actively ahead with concurrent conversations with Germany.

-5-

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I then told the Ambassador that the President had asked me to say to him that the President had recently received word that Professor Roerich and his wife had arrived in northern India a few months ago and that Professor Roerich was informing the authorities in India that he was an intimate friend of the President and that the President both sponsored and favored the various projects in which he was involved. The President desired the Ambassador to let the India Office know that the President had only seen Professor Roerich once in his life and that some ten years ago, and that he had not the slightest interest in any project in which Professor Roerich was involved. The Ambassador said that he would at once inform the appropriate authorities of the Government accordingly and that he considered Professor Roerich one of the most consummate charlatans that had ever existed.

865 D. O. 1385

In conclusion I said to the Ambassador that the President had told me that he would send word to the Ambassador of whatever decision he might reach with regard to the matter above referred to, and that until that time there was nothing further I could communicate to the Ambassador on that subject.

[Handwritten signature]

U SW:IJ

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (B)

The Hague

FROM

Dated February 10, 1938

Rec'd 12:50 p.m.

Secretary of State,

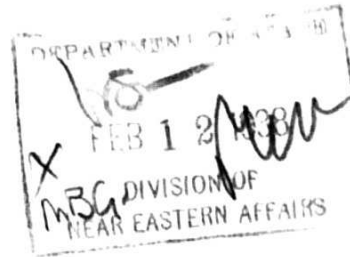
Washington.

13, February 10, 1 p.m.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

My despatch 158 of January 31 and previous communications concerning Netherlands recognition of Italian Empire. Various recent indications seeming to point towards early action by the Netherlands, I called upon the Secretary General of the Foreign Office this morning and asked him if Netherlands recognition was indeed imminent. The Secretary General said that he would be glad confidentially to acquaint me with the exact situation. Minister Hubrecht's letters of credence addressed to the King of Italy and Emperor of Abyssinia have already been signed by the Queen. As he had said he would do, the Foreign Minister some two weeks ago told the British and French Governments that he proposed to take this action. Eden replied that England could not do this and he was rather sorry that the Netherlands would (nevertheless the Foreign Office still feels that the British Government contemplates taking this step as

soon



865D.01/386

N/C

-2- #13, February 10, 1 p.m., from The Hague.

soon as it feels that it can do so without unduly shocking public opinion SEE despatch No. 135 of January 12).

Norway, Sweden and Denmark had been averse to this idea from the beginning although several members of the Swedish Cabinet were inclined to favor it, among them Foreign Minister Sandler though his approval was perhaps not manifested in an especially vigorous manner. Finland, after remaining on the fence for some time, definitely rejected the idea a short time ago. A Cabinet meeting held in Belgium last Friday decided against such action. Spaak, however, requested Patijn to defer action for at least some days in the hope that at the next Cabinet meeting he might induce his colleagues to reconsider their decision; as this meeting is scheduled for tomorrow Patijn agreed to wait until the end of this week. As regards the Belgian position the Secretary General added that while they had no facts to go on the impression here was that the King was inclined against recognition. Despatch by next pouch.

Copy to Brussels.

GORDON

HPD: WC

NEW TIMES
and
ETHIOPIA NEWS
(WEEKLY)

Editor: E. SYLVIA PANKHURST

3
RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

to London
2/15/38
NE-MB39/SC
"WEST DENE,"
3 CHARTERIS ROAD,
WOODFORD GREEN,
ESSEX, ENGLAND.

Phone: BUCKHURST 2463.

1938 FEB 10 PM

RESPECTFULLY REFERRED
FOR ACKNOWLEDGMENT
AND CONSIDERATION
OF COMMUNICATIONS

MAX M. DUTY
17th January, 1938

President Roosevelt,
White House,
Washington D.C.
U.S.A.

Secretary to the President
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
File - MB39
FEB 11 1938
DIVISION OF
NEAR EASTERN AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIVISION OF
COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS
PUBLICATIONS SECTION
FEB 11 1938

Dear Sir,

Friends of International justice, and a great body
of British sympathisers with the sad cause of Ethiopia, have
felt profound gratitude to you and your Government for the
refusal of the Secretary of State, Mr. Cordell Hull to recognise
the Italian invasion of Abyssinia.

Recognition of this invasion would not assist,
but would still further endanger world peace, already gravely
menaced by the spirit of lawless aggression which is rampant
in certain Powers. The European situation has deteriorated
most seriously since the failure of the League of Nations to
prevent ~~the~~ Italy's Abyssinian war and the ^{Italian} occupation of the
old independent African State.

Any promises made by the head of the Italian
Government to refrain from further acts of aggression, and
further hostile propaganda against other States, would be
broken, precisely as his promises to M. Laval were broken when

865D.01/387

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Ethiopia first laid her case before the League. At that time, the Italian dictatorship promised to abandon its hostile attitude towards France, if M. Laval would assist in emasculating League of Nations action under the Covenant, to prevent the attempted conquest of Ethiopia.

M. Laval unhappily agreed, but so far from keeping the pledges then made, it is now evident that the Italian Government is endeavouring to foment civil war upon French soil, as well as carrying on a bitter hostile propaganda against France and Britain.

It would be the more unjust to condone the Italian aggression in Ethiopia since the unity of the struggle which the Ethiopians are making to repel the invaders grows ever stronger and more determined.

A recent evidence of this is the telegram sent by Marshal Graziani to the Commanders and Governors of the Italian Dominions, in which he asks them to rally to defeat the Ethiopians whom he terms "rebels" in order that the Empire may be taken into possession.

Yours sincerely,

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

February 17 1938.

2154

To the

American Chargé d'Affaires ad interim,
London.

The Secretary of State encloses a copy of a letter dated January 28, 1938, received by the President from Miss E. Sylvia Pankhurst, of "West Dene," 3 Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex, England, commenting upon the question of the recognition of Italy's claims in Ethiopia. Unless some objection is perceived, it is requested that on behalf of the President the Embassy make appropriate acknowledgment of Miss Pankhurst's letter.

Enclosure:

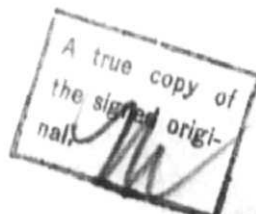
From E. Sylvia Pankhurst,
January 28, 1938.

NE: MBG/GC

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865D.01/387

FEB 16 1938. PM



W.S.M.

865D.01/387

NEW TIMES & ETHIOPIA NEWS

International Daily Newspaper
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No. 99 [2nd Year]

[POSTAGE ANYWHERE 1/2d]

London, 22nd January, 1938

Twopence Weekly

What Caused the Fall of the French Cabinet?

GRAZIANI ADMITS ETHIOPIA STILL UNCONQUERED

Italian Deserters Demand Ethiopian Citizenship

Our Djibuti correspondent has more than once reported that Italian soldiers have deserted from the Italian forces and presented themselves at the Ethiopian Consulate, in Djibuti, requesting Ethiopian citizenship.

We have now received confirmation of these reports from Ethiopian sources.

We learn that on September 2nd, 1937, six Italian soldiers, whose names have been supplied to us, presented themselves at the Ethiopian Consulate in Djibuti, seeking to acquire Ethiopian nationality, and declaring, both verbally and in writing, that they no longer desired to be Italian subjects, on account of the abominable atrocities committed by their Fascist compatriots in Ethiopia. They averred that the Fascists were endeavouring, albeit vainly, to exterminate the native population.

The men asserted that large numbers of Italians had escaped to the Ethiopian side, in order to fight against the Fascist regime.

Many other Italians have since visited the Ethiopian Consulate, asking to be accepted as Ethiopian subjects and requesting the protection of the Ethiopian Consul. Had the Consul been in a position to comply with their request, there is no doubt that the number of Italian deserters claiming his assistance would have reached formidable proportions, owing to the misery to which the supposed conquerors of Ethiopia are subjected.

We further learn that Ras Hailou, the Ethiopian traitor who went over to the Italians, has been held prisoner by the Italians since the great revolt against them in the Province of Gojam, where a strong Ethiopian resistance is at present concentrated.

In Wollo Province, Dedjaz Mangacha is fighting hard with much success, and has gained many victories, notably at Garfa, in the beginning of December.

On November 13th the Italian Consulate in Djibuti reproduced and distributed there a declaration of Marshal Graziani, admitting the existence of Ethiopian armies and also admitting that Ethiopia is still unconquered and that Italy has not yet definitely obtained possession of the Empire her Government so much desired.

The translation of this declaration of Marshal Graziani appears on page 6, together with a photographic reproduction of a page of it circulated by the Italian Consul.

The Imperial Ethiopian Legation in London has moved to:
 5, MANCHESTER SQUARE.

A Desire to Shield the Instigators of Rosselli's Assassination?

"With regard to the instigators of this double crime, that is a matter too serious to permit me to go, were it only for a moment, outside the strict realm of facts. Yet, in this connection, bear in mind the quantity of arms, rifles and machine guns of Italian make discovered by us during this week."

Declaration made by Mr. Mondanel, General Inspector of the Criminal Investigation Department of the French Police, to the Special Correspondent of the "Matin," the well-known Paris daily.

Private information from Paris permits us to assert that the ultimate cause of the fall of the Chautemps French Cabinet is to be found in the desire to remove from office Mr. Max Dormoy, Minister for Home Affairs, responsible for the discovery of the actual perpetrators of the assassination of the brothers Rosselli.

He had told the Press:
 "No effort will be spared, by the Services I have the great honour to command, in their efforts to find and to reveal to the

nation the persons responsible for the despicable attempt at the Etoile, and for the assassination of the Rosselli brothers, a crime which has staggered the conscience of the world."

Those responsible for the assassination are in Rome, and from Rome came the order that the drive against the French Cabinet should be intensified. We are also informed that the drive against the franc, although first initiated by French interests opposed to the Popular Front, was also accentuated by the mobilisation of Italian financial resources, brought to bear against it for the same end.

This Italian state-organised financial interference in the internal affairs of France is as grave as the armed Italian aggression in Spain. It follows upon the provision of Italian arms to the French secret Fascist organisation known as the C.S.A.R. and is the forerunner of other moves, engineered by Rome, to cause the downfall of the French Republic and to open the way to a Fascist Dictatorship.

THE COWARDLY CRIME

Declaration of the Central Committee of "Giustizia e Libertà" on the assassination of Carlo and Nello Rosselli, published in Paris, June 18th, 1935:

"We formally accuse Benito Mussolini of having given orders to professional Fascist assassins to come to France to murder Carlo and Nello Rosselli.

"This crime, by its cowardly premeditation, by its preparation and the manner of its execution, bears the stamp of Fascism. By its sinister details, as well as by its origin, methods and aims, this crime recalls to mind and reproduces the first of the Fascist State crimes: that of the assassination of Giacomo Matteotti.

"The dictator has deliberately selected his victim.

"Mussolini marks with a bloody seal his

judgment of the political value of his opponents.

"After Matteotti, Amendola and Gobetti; it is now Carlo Rosselli who is the victim of the dictator's hatred.

"Rosselli's qualities of mind and faith; his enthusiasm and the force he had

"NEW TIMES AND ETHIOPIA NEWS"

Circulates everywhere English is spoken.

brought to bear on the Italian anti-Fascism both in Italy and abroad; his efforts to free the modern world from the material and moral oppression of Fascism, all this led Mussolini to recognise in Carlo Rosselli the most dangerous of his enemies.

"Following the Fascist tradition, he was killed."

ETHIOPIA AT BAY

Italian Grip Weakens

Khartoum, Jan. 9th.

Bodies of Ethiopian Troops Operating in Conjunction.

Many bodies of Ethiopian soldiery are operating in conjunction with each other, and in complete mutual agreement in the zone comprising the Tigré and the Beghemter.

Italian Forces Defeated.

These soldiers attacked and defeated two battalions of the black Eritrean troops of Italy which constitute the garrison of Kabta, the principal town of the province of Walkait.

Survivors Go Over to Ethiopians.

The survivors of these two Eritrean battalions went over to the Ethiopian side. The whole of Walkait is now in Ethiopian hands.

Italians Driven Out of Armachio.

Following this success the Ethiopians invaded the province of Armachio, which the Italians immediately evacuated. At Armachio half a battalion of Italy's black troops went over to the Ethiopian side.

Italian Garrison Overwhelmed.

The Ethiopians then attacked the town of Walsni, where there was a strong garrison composed both of black and Italian soldiery.

The Ethiopians were victorious and all the Italians killed.

Italian Cereal Depot Destroyed.

Successive attacks were made upon the garrisons of Matabia, Ornhagiar and Abdalrafy. These three towns are now all occupied by the Ethiopians, who in their struggle to obtain them set fire to Matabia. They also burnt Abdalrafy, which is near the Sudan frontier. The Italians had established there an enormous depot of cereals. It was entirely destroyed by the fire.

Italians Withdraw to Gallabat.

The Italian garrisons of Gouange and of Etchintcha have evacuated both places and withdrawn to Gallabat, where the Italian troops are now concentrated.

A fortnight ago the Ethiopians attacked Koki, the principal place in the Gomzi region and near to Gallabat.

Traitor Chief takes Refuge in Sudan.

The Gomzi tribe had previously joined the Italians and had done much damage to the Ethiopians. The chief of the tribe has now taken refuge in the Sudan with 150 members of his suite. His two sons have been captured by the Ethiopians, who hold them prisoners.

British Authorities Informed.

An Ethiopian attack on Gallabat is now imminent. The Ethiopians have made this known to the British authorities and asked them to display the British flag all along the frontier in order to avoid any "incident" which might arise through Ethiopian soldiers inadvertently passing into the Sudan.

The Italians are also well aware of the intended attack which the entire population expects from day to day, and which



account of the abominable atrocities committed by their Fascist compatriots in Ethiopia. They averred that the Fascists were endeavouring, albeit vainly, to exterminate the native population.

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The Imperial Ethiopian Legation in London has moved to:

43, GLOUCESTER SQUARE,
HYDE PARK, W.2.

where all communications should be sent from now onwards.

ON OTHER PAGES

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"Following the Fascist tradition, he was killed."



The Empress of Ethiopia, seated in train, just after saying goodbye to His Majesty.

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The Italians are also well aware of the intended attack which the entire population expects from day to day and which has perhaps already begun.

Many Muslim soldiers have deserted from the Italian troops at Gallabat and sought refuge in the Sudan.

Amongst them are a dozen Italians who arrived at Kasala to-day.

Great discouragement reigns in the Italian camp at Gallabat and when the battle begins there will probably be many more desertions.

(Continued on page 8, column 2)

THE MOORS IN SPAIN

By Nancy Cunard

In Valencia, amongst the numerous organisations—political, educational, social—which have come into being during the course of the war is one of particular interest to all those who study the colonial question: the Hispano-Moorish anti-Fascist Alliance. I saw it there the other day. Its front windows are filled with data on Mussolini's colonising and "civilising" methods, such as this:

"When the Italian army penetrated into Libya that country had one and a half million inhabitants. Now, under the benevolence of Italian rule, it has not more than half a million and is in a state of appalling misery."

Inside the Alliance Office there is literary matter in Arabic—posters, leaflets, cards—which Moorish prisoners, or those who have come over to the Government, may send to their families in Morocco. They are obliged to do it by devious ways, rather than openly, for as the Moors I have found in Spain have all said to me: "We dare not try to communicate normally with our families, for terrible punishments would descend on them." This literature deals with the rôle they have been made to play by the rebels and Italo-German Fascism. The facts of the last year and a half show to what extent the whole of North Africa is being permeated by Nazi and Fascist activity.

One of the most interesting of the weapons in the anti-Fascist fight is the cohete—a tightly rolled projectile containing leaflets in Arabic. This is thrown like a rocket by Government forces into the enemy lines which contain Moorish troops. There are also wireless loudspeakers in Arabic.

Numbers of Moroccans have escaped and come over to the Republicans and are now fighting on various fronts against Franco. What could be more interesting than to get some sort of idea of the feelings of these wronged and largely innocent Arabs? Out of the four I saw last month in Spain two had been stolen from French territory, and are, legally speaking, still French subjects. The first was a very young boy in a Madrid prison hospital; here is the story of the second:

When one goes to ask if there are any Moors in the Madrid barracks one is always told "Yes, but not now. They are fighting with various brigades on different fronts." It is hard to get information; but here chance helped.

Beyond Tetouan, on the western side of Madrid, in one of the shell-smashed zones, is the beginning of the front near El Pardo, we went past a huge red brick edifice which now looks like the pictures of Ypres and which has been a hospital. It was a December afternoon, dark and late; all was quiet at the moment on this ridge, which daily receives a few, or a large number, of shells. We had passed through the wonderfully deep, solid "catacombs" dug into the earth and lit electrically, in which many of Tetouan's and Cuatro Caminos' inhabitants still have to pass their nights. Others prefer to descend into the underground. One sees heart-rending, but fatalistic, little groups coming down there with their bedding.

Magnificent cemented barricades crossed the streets; "the barricades of eventuality" they call them, but they were built now long ago, in the first and worst days. On the nearer side people continue to live amongst the holes and the craters; on the further side it is war.

We walked into darkness through wintry olive trees—the Hill of the Partridges. Then we found ourselves at the headquarters of the 53rd Brigade, talked for a while with the officers in command—one had been a famous barman and spoke many languages; another a professional dancer. I forgot the vocation of the political commissar; it had been as far from war as those of the others.

But now it was war, and the way that the war is going for the Republicans shows that military training and the responsibility of command can be learnt in a few intense and terrible months when a nation has one single aim, that is—to win it.

His name is Sidi Hamar; he is light-skinned, about 22 years old. A young man of the Schleu people; he lived near Fez, in French Morocco, but he now speaks fluent Spanish. He had gone to Melilla, he more money than the paper that that is there when the revolt came.

"The Fascists would not let me go back to Fez, although I am a French subject," he told me. "They took me by force for the war and kept me in Melilla for months. I was brought to Spain early in 1937. In September I made my get-away from the enemy lines."

He turned to speak to one of the officers, and the commissar said to me: "This man cut the sentry's throat to get away—he didn't even wait for darkness—he did it at four one afternoon. He was a sergeant in the Fascist army; he's a sergeant here now. He's not in the least interested in politics, or in the international side of it all. He just hated the Fascists so much, he wanted to fight against them after all he'd been through."

I asked Sergeant Hamar how he'd been treated in Franco's army: "Badly, and the food . . . it was terrible. As for the pay! Not money at all. Worthless paper—no more money than the paper that it is printed on," and he pointed to "Nosotros," the beautifully produced magazine of this particular Brigade.

"Is it possible to get an idea of how many Moors Franco has brought to Spain?"

"I didn't think so." "Quite impossible," added the commissar. (Figures vary from 80,000 to 300,000.)

"Apart from the Regulars and those who've been forced to come like you, what is the reason for so many others being here?"

"Because life is so bad in Morocco, Franco starts by giving good pay, as well as many promises; the families of those who join up get lots of help; conditions are so dreadful there that this means much to them."

But once in Spain, there's no pay at all, as I have told you. Now, a great number would like to pass over as I have done. But they know that if they do their families will be persecuted."

I could see that something was on Sergeant Hamar's mind; he talked to the commanding officer now rather quickly and I couldn't follow all his words. He seemed to be using this occasion to put forward some kind of argument.

"What is he saying," I asked.

The Political Commissar smiled as he answered: "He is pleading with us to send him to the front lines; says he wants to fight instead of doing the work he does here; says he wants to be more active."

Well, the front lines are a mile or less from this point, the Puerta de Hierro, the Gate of Iron, which has held the Fascists at bay for well over a year. Sergeant Hamar is the only Moroccan in his Brigade. Some of the men in those trenches are learning to read and write, because so many of those who have joined up as soldiers lived as complete illiterates until the war. I don't know how many of these there may be amongst the 1,332 men who make up a brigade; but I do know that, apart from the first steps in education, another thing they learn is that all races and peoples are equal, just as during this year and a half of war the Moors who have come over to the Republicans have found themselves treated as brothers by the people of the Spanish Republic.

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Thanks are due to the Rev. W. H. C.

(The Rosselli Affair)

Discovery of the Murderers

First reports of Inspector Bascau to the Chief of the French Criminal Investigation Department:

"A person who desires to remain unknown in fear of reprisals, told me that a certain Jean Marie Couvier, born in 1919, who lived at 16 rue Gustave-Zédé, and who is actually in the 3rd Regiment of French Chasseurs, quartered at Constantine (Algeria), boasted of having witnessed the assassination of the Rosselli brothers, in company with a certain André, identified later on as Louis Charles Huguet, born August 8th, 1902, in Paris, and formerly living at the Lébon boarding house, 7 Rue Lebon, Paris, 13, a place of residence which he left in November last, leaving an unpaid debt of 487 francs."

"Bouvier and Huguet are members of the C.S.A.R. and had been sent to Bagnoles de l'Orne to spy on the Rossellis."

"On the morning of June 9th, 1937, Bouvier took the train for Bagnoles, where he joined four other accomplices."

"It had been proposed that only Carlo should be assassinated. Nello was murdered solely because he was in the company of his brother."

"A young girl, who happened to pass at the moment by that road, escaped the same fate only by a miracle."

"Bouvier, immediately after the deed, returned to Paris by car. He was expelled from the C.S.A.R. because his superior came to the conclusion he had acted imprudently."

Bouvier, arrested at Constantine, made the following declaration to Police Inspector Bascau:

"At the request of André Tenaile I agreed to keep the brothers Rosselli under strict observation. Tenaile paid all the expenses."

"On the morning of June 9th I left Paris by train for Bagnoles, where, to my surprise, I met a person I knew, Jacques Fauran, aged 23, with whom I had been at school in Algiers in 1933. Fauran had a powerful open two-seater car, of American make."

"We went to the Cardier Hotel at Tessa-la-Madeleine, where the brothers Rosselli were living. I pointed them out to Fauran as the persons we had to keep under observation. 'Later on we met the 4 persons who had to do the deed. They had a 402 Peugeot car.'"

"On the afternoon of June 9th the brothers Rosselli went to Alencon. They were followed by the 402 Peugeot and by our own car."

"The murder took place on the return journey. I and Fauran were too far behind to see exactly how the deed was done, but I heard two revolver shots."

Jacques Fauran confessed to Inspector Belin:

"I belong to a fairly well-to-do family. During my youth I never lacked anything, and that may be the reason why I belong to the Nationalist Party."

"A friend, whose name I refuse to give, introduced me on June 7th to Mr. Tenaile, who asked me to join an anti-Communist Defence Committee. He fetched me with a car to attend a meeting of this organisation. They bandaged my eyes and took me to a place, the whereabouts of which I am still ignorant, and there I took the oath of fealty."

"On the morning of June 9th I received a telephone message from an unknown person: 'You have taken your oath, therefore go to-day to the Bagnoles station, where you will meet a person who will tell you what to do.' I asked: 'How shall I be able to recognise him?' The reply was: 'Do not worry, that is already arranged.'"

"I went to Bagnoles in my car where, to my surprise, I met Bouvier. We went to dine at the 'Casino' Restaurant where Carlo Rosselli was pointed out to me as 'a dangerous secret dealer in arms,' whom we had to keep under strict observation."

(Here Fauran relates how Rosselli was followed to Alencon and back.)

"When near the castle of Coutances, Bouvier and I heard two shots. I realised then that a murder had been committed. We returned to Paris by car. Only on the following morning I knew that the murder we had witnessed at a distance was that of the brothers Rosselli."

Comments of the French Press:

The "Oeuvre": "We remain of the opinion that an agent of the O.V.R.A. was on the spot, to make sure Fascist orders were executed."

This unknown agent is the fourth person who was with the known assassins, Filliol, Jakubiec and Patureux; he is described as a man of 30 years of age, dark-complexioned, whose name the arrested murderers refuse to disclose.

The "Populaire": "The assassination of the Rosselli's by the members of the C.S.A.R. must have been done by orders from abroad. What other reason could these French Fascists, who were preparing civil war in France, have had for murdering men in no way whatsoever concerned with their plans?"

The "Humanité": "Those assassins acted on orders! Who, other than Mussolini, had an interest in suppressing Rosselli?"

"Ce-Soleil" says: "It was by order of the C.S.A.R. that the men of the C.S.A.R. killed"

Under Sentence of Death

Spanish Testament by Arthur Koestler, with an introduction by the Duchess of Atholl (Gollancz).

By E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

This is a magnetic, a pathetic, a terrible book. Whoever doubts the justice and the necessity of the struggle against Franco and the Fascists should read it.

There is however, one thing which amazes me about the author—that after these terrible experiences he could imagine that telegrams to Franco from "kind friends in England secured his release"! Telegrams to Franco! Certainly Franco cared not a straw for him. What counted was pressure from the British Government, for the British Government had the power to aid or to hinder the success of Franco's Fascist rebellion. Franco and his colleagues, like all Fascists, consider only in terms of power; public opinion is nothing to them.

One had the right to claim for Koestler the intervention of the British Government, for though he was not a British subject, he went to Spain as the correspondent of a British newspaper, the "News Chronicle." Undoubtedly it was the awe of the British Government which first saved him from death, and its intervention which finally secured his release. The pity is that it took so long to convince our Government that the correspondent of a British newspaper was full of its concern, of whatever nationality the correspondent might happen to be. Sir Peter Mitchell, who was arrested with Koestler, was set at liberty 24 hours later, "thanks to the intervention of the officers of a British warship." If these British officers had seen the necessity of acting on behalf of the immunity of the Press, Koestler would doubtless have been released at the same time.

In this country the P.E.N. and the Institute of Journalists were asked by people desirous of saving Koestler to send telegrams to Franco. They gladly acceded to the request. When the matter was brought to my notice by brave Mrs. Koestler, I urged both these bodies to appeal to our Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary to take action to protect the representative of a British newspaper. The P.E.N. declined, the Institute complied with efficient alacrity.

The Duchess of Atholl contributes an able preface, in which she refers to the description of Fernando de los Rios of the election meetings at Granada in February of 1936, where starving audiences cried out for bread, and the evidence of the Statistical Year Book that out of every 1,000 deaths in Spain, 500 were of children under five years. The Duchess of Atholl states courageously and, I believe, very justly:

"Under all these circumstances there may well have been much unrest and violence between February and July, 1936. Unhappily, much of it from the 'Left' was directed against a Church which had been mainly responsible for the backward state of education, and which was closely connected with the Robles Party. Undoubtedly, moreover, many terrible things happened on that side after news of the military rising came. But Englishmen in the best position to procure reliable information are clear that none were due to official orders, but solely to the inability of the Government, faced with a revolt not only of the army, but also of most of the police, to restrain men maddened by the knowledge of past suffering and by the news that Italian aeroplanes were bringing over Moors and Foreign Legionaries to help to conquer Spain for Fascism. But it is good to know that there were Republican political organisations which condemned murder daily on the wireless and by poster."

"On the other hand, mass executions such as are vouched for in the statement of the governing body of the Madrid Faculty of Law as taking place on the insurgent side, portions of which are reproduced in Chapter IV, could only be the result of official policy. Those at Granada and Seville have been confirmed to me by an Englishman resident in Southern Spain. Even the atrocities on a smaller scale recorded in this chapter could have been prevented by the authorities who commanded disciplined troops. But, indeed, General

told "Yes, but not now. They are fighting with various brigades on different fronts." It is hard to get information; but here chance helped.

Beyond Tetouan, on the western side of Madrid, in one of the shell-smashed zones, is the beginning of the front near El Pardo, we went past a huge red brick edifice which now looks like the pictures of Ypres and which has been a hospital. It was a December afternoon, dark and late; all was quiet at the moment on this ridge, which daily receives a few, or a large number of shells. We had passed through the wonderfully deep, solid "catacombs" dug into the earth and lit electrically, in which many of Tetouan's and Cuatro Caminos' inhabitants still have to pass their nights. Others prefer to descend into the underground. One sees heart-rending, but fatalistic, little groups coming down there with their bedding.

Magnificent cemented barricades crossed the streets; "the barricades of eventuality" they call them, but they were built now long ago, in the first and worst days. On the nearer side people continue to live amongst the holes and the craters; on the further side it is war.

We walked into darkness through wintry olive trees—the Hill of the Partridges. Then we found ourselves at the headquarters of the 53rd Brigade, talked for a while with the officers in command—one had been a famous barman and spoke many languages; another a professional dancer. I forget the vocation of the political commissar; it had been as far from war as those of the others.

But now it was war, and the way that the war is going for the Republicans shows that military training and the responsibility of command can be learnt in a few intense and terrible months when a nation has one single aim, that is—to win it.

We found here the now famous "Alphabet's Compendium"; it is a writing pad with pencil, filled with large easy letters, then more advanced exercises and prose. When the soldier who had never learned to write or read has studied this for as short a while as one month he writes a letter to the Minister of Education—I have seen such documents and they come straight from the heart. We found that several hundred soldiers were using these compendiums in the front lines, about a kilometre from here.

Then I found the Moor.

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"What is he saying," I asked.

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Well, the front lines are a mile or less from this point, the Puerta de Hierro, the Gate of Iron, which has held the Fascists at bay for well over a year. Sergeant Hamar is the only Moroccan in his Brigade. Some of the men in those trenches are learning to read and write, because so many of those who have joined up as soldiers lived as complete illiterates until the war. I don't know how many of these there may be amongst the 1,332 men who make up a brigade; but I do know that, apart from the first steps in education, another thing they learn is that all races and peoples are equal, just as during this year and a half of war the Moors who have come over to the Republicans have found themselves treated as brothers by the people of the Spanish Republic.

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Thanks are due to the Rev. W. H. C. Maltan, a good friend of Ethiopia and an active worker in the cause of justice, for having at once drawn attention to this *lapsus calami*, thus permitting an early correction. As everybody knows, Dr. Hewlett Johnson is Dean of Canterbury and not of Winchester.

The volume of the speeches of "Mr. Stanley Baldwin, former Premier of Britain," has been forbidden entry to Germany!

"A friend, whose name I refuse to give, introduced me on June 7th to Mr. Tenaile, who asked me to join an anti-Communist Defence Committee. He fetched me with a car to attend a meeting of this organisation. They bandaged my eyes and took me to a place, the whereabouts of which I am still ignorant, and there I took the oath of fealty.

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The "Humanité": "Those assassins acted on orders! Who, other than Mussolini, had an interest in suppressing Rosselli?"

"Ce-Soir" says: "It was by order of the O.V.R.A. that the men of the C.S.A.R. killed the Rosselli's!"

The "Petit Parisien": "The tragedy deepens, moving towards the most surprising, the most detestable machination."

"Members of the already exposed criminal association of C.S.A.R. are the authors of the Rosselli murders. Eight men took part in it, of these, seven are known, five have been arrested recently, and two were already in prison. All those who have been interrogated have confessed. We know how the double assassination was planned, how it was perpetrated."

"Will that be all? No! Other surprises are in store. Who ordered the assassinations? To find a solution for this question is the problem now confronting the Sureté Generale."

election meetings at Granada in February of 1936, where starving audiences cried out for bread, and the evidence of the Statistical Year Book that out of every 1,000 deaths in Spain, 500 were of children under five years. The Duchess of Atholl states courageously and, I believe, very justly:

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"On the other hand, mass executions such as are vouched for in the statement of the governing body of the Madrid Faculty of Law as taking place on the insurgent side, portions of which are reproduced in Chapter IV, could only be the result of official policy. Those at Granada and Seville have been confirmed to me by an Englishman resident in Southern Spain. Even the atrocities on a smaller scale recorded in this chapter could have been prevented by the authorities who commanded disciplined troops. But, indeed, General Queipo de Llano, in his daily wireless, gave definite encouragement to brutality, and Mr. Koestler reproduces orders taken on July 28th, 1936, on a rebel officer, which require the creation of panic among civilians behind enemy lines. . . . Hints are given that firing on ambulances or wounded in transport are useful means to this end.

"The machine-gunning of fugitive non-combatants from Malaga and Guernica, which has been described to me by fugitives from these places and the frequent attacks on the ambulances experienced both by the Spanish Medical Aid Committee and the

(Continued in cols. 2 and 3, page 7.)

How Italy Prepared for War

Keep free Tuesday afternoon, February 15th, for the first public performance of films of the Italian war against Ethiopia, which are to be shown that afternoon at 3 o'clock at the Phoenix Theatre, Charing Cross Road.

War preparations have never hitherto been filmed. They have never hitherto been advertised and boasted of.

Modern war is so terrible, so disastrous to all sections of the population that hitherto no belligerent government has been willing to admit the guilt of preparing for war. Every government which participated in the Great War 1914-18 protested the catastrophe was caused by its enemies, not in the slightest degree by any action of itself or its allies.

The Fascist dictatorship of Italy is the first modern government to boast of huge preparations to conquer and subject another people. To advertise the magnitude of the war machine it turned upon defenceless Ethiopia, the dictatorship has made at fabulous expense a film which from the purely technical aspect is amazingly accomplished.

This film will be shown at the Phoenix Theatre. It reveals the great output of the factories mobilised to serve the aggressive war, the ships being stored with vast quantities of everything requisite, the troops filing on board, the huge preparations in Africa, the progress of the armies through difficult country—the war itself.

We enter into the thick of battle, hear the shots, see the sheets of liquid fire.

We soar into the clouds with the younger Mussolini, who found the war such sport; see him bombing and machine-gunning from the air defenceless peasants.

We are with the crowd before Palazzo Venezia, and hear the harsh voice of Mussolini shout "Abyssinia is Italy!"

We see the war also from the Ethiopian side, finally in exile with the Emperor and Dr. Martin, and hear their reasoned comment on all this waste and slaughter.

These two respected representatives of the brave little nation which has suffered the murderous attack of Fascism will be personally present and will speak.

Let us be there to welcome them with a hearty cheer!

Numbered and reserved seats varying from one shilling to one guinea are not obtainable from the Film Secretary, c/o "New Times and Ethiopia News," 3, Charteris Road, Woodford Green, Essex.

The proceeds will go to Dr. Martin's Ethiopian Fund.

"CONCORD AND PROGRESS."

An interesting and active society doing good work for humanity, known as "Concorde et Progres" was founded in Paris about five years ago by a group of persons, including besides Frenchmen, several English and American personalities, having as its object—

"To create amicable relations between peoples and enable them to know each other better, to study apart from Utopian schemes, the various means of solving the international problems of the hour, within the limits of national consciousness and security."

and variously to help and support, as far as possible, inventors, writers, scientists and all who are working for the benefit of humanity.

The moving spirit was, and is, Baron M. de Villé-Avray, who is now its international president. He was wounded in the war and is imbued with the desire to help other peoples.

One of the means by which the above programme was to be achieved was the issue of a publication in several languages. The intention had not yet been possible, but on the other hand, the association "Concorde et Progres," which has numerous friends in the French Chamber and Senate, has fulfilled its role of public spirit in numerous ways. One of these has been the systematic abandonment of stages and the offering thereof to the various groups of people who are working for the benefit of humanity.

Boycotting Japan

(From Indian Social Reformer.)

There has been an exchange of cables between Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and four pacifist leaders of thought in the West, John Dewey, Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell and Romaine Rolland, in favour of launching a boycott of Japanese products and a refusal to sell war materials to Japan. Since two of these have given up absolute pacifism, it is open to them—Einstein and Rolland—to support more than a mere economic boycott. Dr. Einstein soon after Hitler's drive against the Jews, declared himself in favour of a "righteous" war. Of M. Romaine Rolland, Mr. Bart de Ligt in his new volume "The Conquest of Violence," remarks "After being for years a real champion of peace, this great successor of Tolstol, horrified by the advent of Hitlerism . . . announced that he favours a collective system of peace based on military collaboration of all other States against a potential aggressor. . . . When, therefore, these two thinkers are calling loudly for economic boycotts, they are demanding what, for them, must be considered milder sanctions. If they were prepared to launch a general crusade against Hitler's Germany and only ask for a boycott against Japan, it can only be that they regard Japan as less of a danger to democracy. The position of the other two, John Dewey and Bertrand Russell, is different. They would be scandalised at the thought of the other countries going to war with Japan for China's sake from reasons of absolute pacifism. Pandit Jawaharlal, if we correctly understand him, occupies yet a third position. When, therefore, these five individuals use the phrase "Economic boycott," they regard the problem in different lights. There is another more practical issue



The news that the French Police have arrested the material authors of the murder of Nello and Carlo Rosselli adds topical interest to:

"CARLO AND NELLO ROSSELLI,"

by

Professor Gaetano Salvemini,

2/-, post free.

To be obtained from us or from—

"Intellectual Liberty,"

23, Haymarket, London, S.W.1.

involved: What good would an economic boycott do to China? Everyone seems to lose sight of this essential point. "Boycotts," writes Mr. Peffer in a recent issue of the *New Republic*, "may satisfy our souls but they cannot act as a deterrent. They will lessen Japan's chance to win the war but they will not stop the war or even materially shorten it. What is more likely, they will sooner or later involve the nations that participate in them." "In the United States," comments the *New Republic* editorially, "the private boycott against Japan has gained some public support, especially from those who have suffered from Japanese competition in the past and find the boycott a convenient method to increase their own sales." We do not suggest that men like Russell and Dewey are moved by economic motives. But it would not be the first time that business has used the humanitarian ideals of leaders of thought for its own ends.

Yet another view on this subject is expressed by the "Arbitrator" of New York:

Pacifists are asked what can be done to countries like Japan, Germany and Italy that understand no language but force. The answer is that the present difficulties have arisen because of continuous disregard of pacifist principles. It is unreasonable to expect pacifists to extricate the world from a situation caused by diplomats whose every act for generations has been opposed to internationalism. But even now something could be done if militarists had the courage.

The League of Nations failed to discipline Japan when it invaded Manchuria in 1931. There was a provision for the use of force under such circumstances, but England and France had been guilty of previous invasions, had never relinquished their rights to subjugate inferior peoples and did not wish to mobilize their fleets for a direct attack upon Japan. This hesitancy made possible the conquest of Manchukuo, Ethiopia and China and the invasion of Spain by foreign troops.

If, instead of relying upon naval force, there had been an agreement by the League and the United States to boycott any aggressor, it is probable that none of these invasions would have occurred. The boycott has not been employed because each nation hesitated to risk the loss of profitable trade; but if a would-be aggressor knew that all its trade would be suspended the day after troops crossed a border, the fear of such catastrophe would be a sufficient deterrent to prevent the invasion. The actual boycott would rarely, if ever, have to be invoked.

Some pacifists object to the boycott on the ground that it injures the innocent peoples of the offending country who are not responsible for the terrorist acts of their government. This is an illogical argument, for a war of aggression injures the people of both belligerent countries not only through losses they incur on the battlefields but by adding to their tax burdens. Refraining from a boycott against Japan is like saying: "Commit any atrocity you please; we shall continue to buy your goods so that you may have money with which to conduct your atrocious subjugation."

Citizens of the United States, whose President Roosevelt has not obeyed the order of Congress to declare neutrality, may express their disapproval of Japan's outrages by non-belligerent action that will involve some sacrifice on their own part. They can boycott Japan until it mends its ways.

Edwin C. Pomeroy of New Milford, Connecticut, is urging everyone to write to five friends asking them to write to five of their friends to refuse to buy anything from Japan while the slaughter continues.

(Correspondence is invited on this subject.)

ST. GEORGE'S, HART STREET, W.C.1.

There are intercessions for Abyssinia in this church at 6.15 p.m. every Friday.

Italians in India

DETENTION OF PARTY IN PLANE.

Aviation Code Violated.

It is authoritatively reported from New Delhi, that the truculent attitude adopted by a party of Italian journalists who flew at a very low altitude over the military aerodrome near Karachi led to their detention and cross-examination by civil aviation directorate officials here this morning.

The flyers are stated to have circled the aerodrome slowly at a height of only about 45 to 50 feet, and when later they were intercepted at Lahore and asked to explain such a flagrant breach of international aviation regulations they denied the charge.

As the officials were not satisfied with this attitude the flyers were ordered to proceed to Delhi, where they were cross-examined by the Director of Civil Aviation. They declared their innocence of intention to violate the aviation code, and pleaded ignorance of the position of the military aerodrome.

The suspicion engendered by the incident was heightened by the fact that the machine is the latest type of Italian bomber, capable of a speed of 380 miles an hour.

The flyers declare that the plane was sent to them by the Italian Government for the purpose of attempting to set up a new speed record from Karachi to Rome.

The authorities here are still unsatisfied, and it is understood that they are consulting the Secretary of State by cable.

Correspondence

As a reader with keen interest in the "New Times and Ethiopia News," permit me to offer my congratulations and encouragement in your struggle against diabolical diplomacy, with its attendant evils of propaganda and exploitation. Your paper assists the simple to become wise in international affairs.

The darker races of humanity view with shame the British Premier sending letters of courtship to Mussolini.

Continue your struggle to uphold the right against titanic might, which must not, and cannot, win.

New York City, U.S.A.

F. J. E.

The nation which does unto others as it would that other nations should do to it, embodies prominently the thoughtfulness of Christ and also the highest ethics in Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, and the Hebrew prophets' teachings.

"The League of Nations" helped earthquake-stricken islands and areas of the Far East under privations common for human response everywhere!

To the philanthropic efforts of the League in relief of China's great inundations of river-floods, what has Japan given?

The question might be regarded as "provocative" in Tokio, if that city has forgotten other nations' generosity in relief of civic desolation under seismic havoc?

One wonders if Shakespeare's words "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," and Milton's praise of Shakespeare's fame, "For which kings would gladly wish to die," are dangerous thoughts in Japan.

"Bushido" apart, kings have died and emperors have gone into exile for lesser offences than those condoned by the Japanese spokesman in respect of bombing non-combatants.

World sympathy is for the British policeman who was manhandled by the Japanese because he desired fairplay for unarmed Chinese, instead of brutality by the soldiers of the Mikado's army. It is a fact that Japan's agriculture owes to Christian missionary-teachers even the "simple" (although "great" in Japan) advance of planting rice-seedlings in straight rows at proper distances apart, to allow of frequent weeding necessary for good harvest results. An advance in agricultural technique would innumerable dumps of expensive bombs surely!

J. B. GRAHAM.

Belfast



From developments that have arisen of late, it would seem there is a secret alliance between the Pope and Mussolini. This alone can account for the Governments of Roman Catholic countries, such as Ireland and Holland (in the latter country the Roman Catholic representation in the Cabinet has recently increased) coming forward with proposals for the recognition of Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia.

This acting as the devil's advocate on the part of the Roman Catholic Church shows what a grotesque mockery such an institution is as representing the lowly Christ.

There is only one thing more surprising than the infamies people will tolerate under the cloak of religion and that is the amazing audacity of the "vested interests" established in the name of religion in taking advantage of this extraordinary phenomenon.

H. SMALLEY.

Chinestead

A "League for the Boycott of Aggressor Countries" has recently been formed. All

ment on all this waste and slaughter.

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"To create amicable relations between peoples and enable them to know each other better; to study, apart from Utopian schemes, the various means of solving the great international problems of the hour, within the limits of national consciousness and security."

and variously to help and support, as far as possible, inventors, writers, scientists and all who are working for the benefit of humanity.

The moving spirit was, and is, Baron M. de Ville d'Avray, who is now its indefatigable president. He was wounded in the war and is imbued with the desire to help other people.

One of the means by which the above programme was to be achieved was the issue of a publication in several languages. This, unfortunately, has not yet been possible, but on the other hand, the association "Concorde et Progrès"—which has numerous friends in the French Chamber and Senate—has fulfilled its rôle of public utility in numerous ways. One of these has been the reclaiming of abandoned villages and the settlement there of large numbers of families and individuals, either to cultivate the land or to carry on small handicrafts. Farm-houses have been taken over and whole villages repopulated in this manner. During the past two years over 3,500 persons have thus been returned to the land (2,000 in 1937). They are not French people only, but many political refugees are included.

Unfortunately, this very useful work is neither officially subsidised nor has it the support of wealthy patrons. Expenses are met from the very modest subscriptions of members in many countries and in other various small ways.

Readers who may be interested in this unique society—and all friends of France surely should be—are asked to communicate direct with Monsieur de Ville d'Avray, 11, Rue du Souvenir, Courbevoie, Seine France.

The news that the French Police have arrested the material authors of the murder of Nello and Carlo Rosselli adds topical interest to:

"CARLO AND NELLO ROSSELLI,"

by

Professor Gaetano Salvemini,

2/-, post free.

To be obtained from us or from:—

"Intellectual Liberty,"

23, Haymarket, London, S.W.1.

to declare neutrality, may express their approval of Japan's outrages by non-belligerent action that will involve some sacrifice on their own part. They can boycott Japan until it mends its ways.

Edwin C. Pomeroy of New Milford, Connecticut, is urging everyone to write to five friends asking them to write to five of their friends to refuse to buy anything from Japan while the slaughter continues.

(Correspondence is invited on this subject.)

ST. GEORGE'S, HART STREET, W.C.1.

There are intercessions for Abyssinia in this church at 6.15 p.m. every Friday.



Their Majesties the Emperor and Empress of Ethiopia arriving at Victoria Station, on the occasion of Her Majesty's departure to Jerusalem.

what has Japan given? The question might be regarded as "provocative" in Tokio, if that city has forgotten other nations' generosity in relief of civic desolation under seismic havoc?

One wonders if Shakespeare's words "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," and Milton's praise of Shakespeare's fame, "For which kings would gladly wish to die," are dangerous thoughts in Japan.

"Bushido" apart, kings have died and emperors have gone into exile for lesser offences than those condoned by the Japanese spokesmen in respect of bombing non-combatants.

World sympathy is for the British policeman who was manhandled by the Japanese because he desired fairplay for unarmed Chinese, instead of brutality by the soldiers of the Mikado's army.

It is a fact that Japan's agriculture owes to Christian missionary-teachers even the "simple" (although "great" in Japan) advance of planting rice-seedlings in straight rows at proper distances apart, to allow of frequent weeding necessary for good harvest results. An advance in agricultural technique worth innumerable dumps of expensive bombs surely!

J. B. GRAHAM.

Belfast

From developments that have arisen of late, it would seem there is a secret alliance between the Pope and Mussolini. This alone can account for the Governments of Roman Catholic countries, such as Ireland and Holland (in the latter country the Roman Catholic representation in the Cabinet has recently increased) coming forward with proposals for the recognition of Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia.

This acting as the devil's advocate on the part of the Roman Catholic Church shows what a grotesque mockery such an institution is as representing the lowly Christ.

There is only one thing more surprising than the infamies people will tolerate under the cloak of religion and that is the amazing audacity of the "vested interests" established in the name of religion in taking advantage of this extraordinary phenomenon

H. SMALLEY.

Chipstead.

A "League for the Boycott of Aggressor Countries" has recently been formed. All those desirous to assist should write to: Joyce Lee, Organising Secretary, 31, Brookfield Mansions, West Hill, London, N.6.

What is Freedom? It is the freedom of those who think differently from us.

—Rosa Luxemburg.

The state we desire to build will admit all sorts of freedom: except that of strangling freedom.

—La Giovane Italia.

NEW TIMES & ETHIOPIA NEWS

2d. WEEKLY.
THE PAPER FOR ALL INTERESTED
IN INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

Editor:

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3, Charteris Road, Woodford Green,
Essex, England.

Telephone: BUCKHURST 2463.

Advertisement Rates on Application.

Subscription Rates:

2/9 for 13 weeks; 5/6 for 26 weeks.

In the U.S.A.

Single Copies 5 cents.

13 weeks \$0.65. 26 weeks \$1.30.

Subscriptions to this Paper are accepted in
the currency of any country at current rate
of Exchange.

A Challenge to the League

The testimony we publish in this issue from Italian and from Ethiopian sources from our own correspondent in Djibuti, and also from an independent source in the Sudan, affords overwhelming proof that Ethiopia remains unconquered, that the resistance to the invaders is strengthening, and that the Italians have still their boasted Empire to conquer before they can possess it.

It will be remembered by all that the great argument urged upon the League for the lifting of Sanctions against Italy was that the Italians had secured the victory, the Ethiopian resistance had collapsed, and all was over. Mussolini had declared the age-old Empire of Ethiopia already a corpse; Mr. Chamberlain had borrowed the unpleasant simile, and in a speech outside Parliament, as a pointer to British policy, had suggested burial. Thus Italy secured the cessation of League action against her, and Japan has since profited thereby. The information which we have published continuously, and which has appeared occasionally in "The Times" and other admired journals, has proved the whole train of argument upon which the League ceased action utterly false. The Ethiopians, still unconquered and unbowed, resist valiantly at home, whilst their Emperor and the other official representatives of the Ethiopian Government maintain the struggle through diplomatic channels.

Marshal Graziani's Admissions.

More than once communications from Rome itself have admitted continued warfare, but we are now able to publish a telegram of Marshal Graziani himself, which categorically declares the existence of Ethiopian armies, under the appellation "rebels," and calls for renewed effort in order that the desired "Empire" may be taken into possession—a clear admission that it is not in possession yet.

It is evident, from this telegram, that the Viceroyship of the young Duke of Aosta is merely an affair of empty pomp, that Marshal Graziani, as he declares, is still in control of Italian arms in Ethiopia, because stern fighting is still required to achieve a conquest daily revealing itself to be more remote.

The ignominious servility of the terms in which the whole communication issued by the Italian Consul in Djibuti is couched we need not discuss; that servility is one of the most noticeable features of Italian society to-day; it springs from terror of the cruel and wanton actions of the dictatorship.

Marshal Graziani directed that his declaration should be sent throughout the Empire; the Djibuti Consul had it duplicated for distribution. A copy being forwarded to us, we present our readers with a reproduction of it in its original form.

British Authorities Aware of Continuing Hostilities.

Since the fall of Addis Ababa to the Italian, the British Government and Mr. Chamberlain, the British Secretary of State, have been proceeding to the various terms

almost encompassed by British territory; that refugees from Ethiopia are constantly entering British territory, and that our Government has still official representatives in Addis Ababa who are in the position to discover at least something of the affairs around them.

We draw the attention of our readers to the information we publish from Khar-toum, and particularly to the statement that the Ethiopians informed the British authorities of their intended attack on the Italians occupying the near-frontier garrison of Gallabat. The Ethiopian request for the hoisting of the British flag along the frontier to avoid incidents should be noted.

Our Parliamentary friends should take particular account of this happening, which has an important bearing on any further certificate issued by the Foreign Office for the information of the judges, as well as on the broad consideration of public policy.

Some very direct questions to the Foreign Office regarding conditions in Ethiopia are called for.

All this is a challenge to the League of Nations and its States members not to suffer aggressors gladly, as in the past, and to act with genuine helpfulness towards the victims of aggression, who are and have been loyally obedient to League principles.

Surely it is not beyond the bounds of League capacity to devise some means by which its members shall be "most favoured nations" to each other. Surely the vast resources of the League States, moral and material, quite apart from any warlike action, should be capable of preventing some of their number from sinking to destitution and despair under the cruel attack of the aggressors whom the League has condemned.

It is more than time the aggressors were "sent to Coventry" by the States which profess to steer their national policy in accordance with the Covenant of the League.

It is more than time Britain and France ceased to permit Italian troops and war material to be transported across their

**"Modern Mass Wars"
to be found on p. 6
has been specially written
for us this week by
the well-known contributor
COLOREL MAURICE SPENCER**

territory for the Ethiopian war—an act which is wholly out of keeping with neutrality, to say nothing of the solidarity implicit in the League Covenant!

It is more than time British and French firms ceased to supply, and British and French ships to transport, war material to Italy and Japan for the aggressions both Britain and France have assisted in condemning at Geneva.

"Ah, but this would be Sanctions, and Sanctions lead to war!" someone replies; but Sanctions in actual fact did not lead to war, and in any case someone or other is always raising up some phantom bogey to deter people and governments from doing what they know to be right.

Fascist Conspiracies in France.

From the first it was clear that the Italian dictator had ordered the murder of Carlo Rosselli, as he had ordered those of Matteotti and Amendola. As happened in the case of Matteotti, the facts are slowly but surely coming to light. As though some inexorable force were at work piecing together the evidence which the conspirators have sought to scatter and obliterate, fact after fact is fitted into the tragic puzzle. Brooding darkly over all is the grim knowledge that the dictatorship of Italy is deliberately seeking to produce civil war in France, as Italy and Germany have done in Spain. By propaganda by financial manipulations, by spies and provocative agents, by the supply of arms on a considerable scale, conditions diabolically calculated to produce civil war are being energetically built up. For the heavy cost of this wickedness the Italian people are taxed!

The latest discovery of arms in a flat in

their enemies. Though the arrested conspirators have asserted that this hideous method was intended to dispose of traitors within their own C.S.A. ranks, one can hardly suppose these villains would stick at employing them against others.

The Struggle in Spain.

In the slow and painfully-fought Spanish struggle the fortunes of the Government side appear to show some further progress. The terrible battle in the neighbourhood of Teruel continues, apparently with advantage to the Government.

Numerous desertions from the rebel forces in the territory near Gibraltar have occasioned anxiety among the rebel commanders and have led to the establishment of a new military police force of Hitler Brown Shirts which is pursuing the blood purge of Fascism in La Linea and elsewhere to eliminate all in the rebel ranks who might prove dangerous or inconvenient to the Fascist leaders.

Deserters from the rebel forces around Madrid have brought with them leaflets which have been distributed somehow in the Fascist trenches, complaining, "We are fighting against our brothers for the profit of the foreigners."

And Japan.

The statement issued on January 16th by the Japanese Government respecting its intentions towards China is framed with the blatant hypocrisy in which the dictators and warmongers of the present time appear to have outdone all those of other ages. Author of the terrible misery now torturing the Chinese people, the Japanese Government yet employs phrases such as this:

"Japan's responsibility for the peace of the East is now heavier than ever before. It is the fervent hope of the Government that the people will exert still greater efforts for the accomplishment of this important task incumbent on the nation."

The audacious plan of the Japanese militarists to build up throughout the vast territories of China an administration ostensibly Chinese but utterly subservient to them is foredoomed to failure. It cannot succeed, but what agony must the Chinese and also the Japanese people endure whilst the attempt is being tried out with all the atrocities which modern science has rendered possible!

And President Roosevelt?

If Japan succeeds in obtaining in America the credit of 50,000,000 dollars to purchase machinery, President Roosevelt's speeches against international lawlessness will cease to receive the attention hitherto accorded to them.

The American people have by this time witnessed the film recording the Japanese attack on the American ship Panay. The British people are now having the same opportunity. Is the great English-speaking public of two continents unmoved by this deed of absolutely unprovoked aggression? We trow not. We believe deep indignation

burns in the breast of the great mass of the English-speaking world, not only for the attacks on American and British ships, but for the cruel war Japan is making in China.

President Roosevelt has again and again strongly denounced this atrocious undeclared war, but no action in keeping with verbal condemnation has yet followed.

Under the United States Neutrality Act adopted in the spring of last year the President has discretionary power to forbid the export of any goods to a belligerent country until they have been paid for, and to insist that they shall not be carried in American ships. If President Roosevelt were thus to place all the United States exports to Japan on a "cash and carry" basis, the economic consequences would be serious for that aggressive little nation.

If Britain and other League adherents were to adopt the same course, Japan's difficulties might easily bring her to a more reasonable frame of mind.

We appeal to all lovers of peace and justice to unite in demanding that the aggressor governments shall not be aided to continue their aggression, and that every effort shall be made to prevent war material being supplied to them.

The summoning of the Japanese Imperial Council and the attempt to induce the Chinese to accept peace on the Japanese terms, which are, of course, very bad, is perhaps an indication that Japan is seriously feeling the strain of so extensive a war. Withdrawal of supplies and credit by America and the League States would have a salutary effect.

Maximum Prices in Italy.

The circular Signor Lautini, Italian Minister of Corporations, addressed to all Governors of provinces, stating that prices have now reached the maximum level which the consumer can afford, throws light on the harsh conditions obtaining in Italy. It cannot be too often and too emphatically emphasised that Fascism is not a beneficial institution. Its advantages are confined to a very restricted class. Corrupt and costly, burdened by enormous hordes of spies and police, and an inordinate military expenditure, its isolationist economic policy, huge tariffs and exclusion of imports wherever possible, currency restrictions and so forth, prove in the long run prejudicial to the general economic life of the community. New excitements, new campaigns, new propaganda are constantly resorted to, to mask these facts and divert public attention to new objectives.

The attempts now being made by Fascism to make trade agreements with Germany and other States which it is hoped will be Italy's military allies in future war result from the fact that the boasted efforts to achieve self-sufficiency are proving economically unsound.

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

Another Deal—This Time With Italy

By "Anchored"

There is much talk of the recognition of the Italian annexation of Abyssinia, and strangely enough, the smaller Powers of Europe are credited with the movement to this purpose. When Japan invaded Manchuria in 1931, it was owing to the pressure of the small Powers that the League Assembly unanimously condemned her as an aggressor and treaty-breaker, and that verdict still holds good. It is therefore now thought wise to let a State like Holland set out to influence other countries to reverse the League verdict under which Italy was declared the aggressor in Abyssinia. Happily, the movement seems to have met with little success. It is, however, supported by the authority of Mr. Garvin of the "Observer," who admonishes us to "recognise the Italian conquest because it is a real thing and because the League of Nations, which resisted it, is dead for all practical purposes." We are not bound to accept Mr. Garvin's reasons, for the Abyssinian people are not yet subdued, in spite of the Italians having had the great advantage of poison gas, the use of which is forbidden by international law. The military reputation of Italy, which was dimmed in the Great War, has not shown evident signs of recovery at Guadalajara, in Spain.

American co-operation, on the assurance of Japan that our interests would be safeguarded; and this at a time when the League Council, of which he was British representative, was ostensibly striving to put a stop to Japanese aggression. Two months later he was out for "conciliation and no sanctions," thus repudiating the Covenant of the League. It is difficult to understand how in the face of the Government declaration in 1935 that the League was the keystone of our foreign policy, Sir John Simon, though no longer the Foreign Secretary, is still a member of the Cabinet. In the light of recent events, no agreement with the Japanese can be of any great advantage. Is it not the same with Germany and Italy? No agreement is safe with either of them. Nor is there any evident desire on their part for co-operation with other countries, whether on matters of trade or on political questions. What then remains? It is permissible to argue that the League is stronger, not weaker, through the belated defection of Italy, and that the safer course is to revive its influence and authority. It can be done. The dictators will not play the game, so let us carry on without them. America is sympathetic. She has declared the principles of her foreign policy and has announced them to every

unconquered and unbowed, resist valiantly at home, whilst their Emperor and the other official representatives of the Ethiopian Government maintain the struggle through diplomatic channels.

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British Authorities Aware of Continued Hostilities.

Since the fall of Addis Ababa to the Italians, the British Government, and Mr. Eden as its Foreign Secretary, have expressed themselves in the vaguest terms regarding conditions in Ethiopia. *De facto* recognition has been given to the invaders, and more than one agreement has been made with them under the assumption that they are the government in control, for the time being, of at least a considerable portion of the country. Studiously vague was the Foreign Office certificate produced in the still pending action of the Emperor of Ethiopia against the Cable and Wireless Company. One might have thought from the apparent lack of knowledge in Whitehall that the realm of Ethiopia is on a distant star, not that it is

COLONEL MAURICE SPENCER

territory for the Ethiopian war—an act which is wholly out of keeping with neutrality, to say nothing of the solidarity implicit in the League Covenant!

It is more than time British and French firms ceased to supply, and British and French ships to transport, war material to Italy and Japan for the aggressions both Britain and France have assisted in condemning at Geneva.

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The latest discovery of arms in a flat in the rue Saint-Lazare has again shocked and mystified peaceably-minded people. Few would have believed in the opening years of the century that such lawless doings were possible in the intellectual capital of Western Europe. The question arises: how many more such arsenals has Italy established in Paris and in France? In the rue Saint-Lazare haul there were German as well as Italian weapons; in this conspiracy, also, Rome and Berlin work hand in hand.

Very gruesome is the revelation that the conspirators had test tubes containing typhoid bacilli for the extermination of

will come to receive the attention hitherto accorded to them.

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We should first be assured as to the value of any agreement with dictators. In January, 1932, the "cool and capacious mind" of Sir John Simon threw over the offer of

American co-operation, on the assurance of Japan that our interests would be safeguarded; and this at a time when the League Council, of which he was British representative, was ostensibly striving to put a stop to Japanese aggression. Two months later he was out for "conciliation and no sanctions," thus repudiating the Covenant of the League. It is difficult to understand how in the face of the Government declaration in 1935 that the League was the keystone of our foreign policy, Sir John Simon, though no longer the Foreign Secretary, is still a member of the Cabinet. In the light of recent events, no agreement with the Japanese can be of any great advantage. Is it not the same with Germany and Italy? No agreement is safe with either of them. Nor is there any evident desire on their part for co-operation with other countries, whether on matters of trade or on political questions. What then remains? It is permissible to argue that the League is stronger, not weaker, through the belated defection of Italy, and that the safer course is to revive its influence and authority. It can be done. The dictators will not play the game, so let us carry on without them. America is sympathetic. She has declared the principles of her foreign policy and has announced them to every recognised Government. The fact that she is not formally a member of the League is of less importance than her acceptance of League principles. A joint declaration from Britain and America on foreign policy would do much to clear the air and to rally together all the countries which, while ready to revise the *status quo* by peaceful negotiation, will not alter the map of the world by force, but will, in the interests of world civilisation, withstand an aggressor wherever he is to be found. The small nations must be assured that they will be supported by the stronger Powers.

found to be in great misery and poverty.

"Our aviation went beyond Makallé and the river Tacazzé in tactical flights of reconnaissance. Other air squadrons dropped manifestoes on the natives. During the night our forces made safe the conquered positions. On the following morning the advance continued. General de Bono has telegraphed: 'The morale of the troops is exceedingly high.'"

Two days later the advance of the Italian forces was still "irresistible," and therefore it was possible to have a communiqué announcing (October 12th, nine days after the beginning of the operations) a great political success: that of a relative of the Emperor, Dejaz Haile Selassie Gugsu, having joined the Italians with a large number of followers:

"At 12 noon, October 11th, Dejaz Haile Selassie Gugsu . . . presented himself to General de Bono at Coatit. He was wearing a khaki uniform cut in European style, and was followed by some of his chiefs. The soldiers of his personal escort of 1,500 persons were armed with Mannlicher rifles, having, in addition, 20 machine-guns, four mountain pieces of artillery, and two anti-aircraft guns (type Oerlikon). To-morrow General de Bono will visit Adowa, where he will review our forces and inaugurate a monument to the Italian soldiers fallen in 1896."

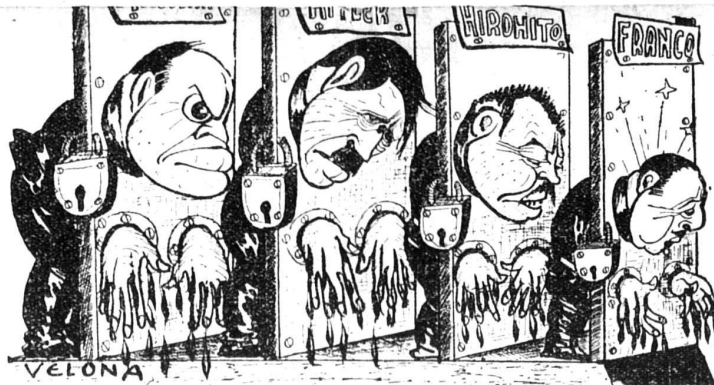
These theatrical effects gave great satisfaction to Italian public opinion. Traitor Gugsu was acclaimed as a hero; was invited to dinner by high Italian officers, was honoured with presents and covered with promises. Incidentally, it is worth noting that neither he nor others who betrayed for the sake of the Italian lire received the promised rewards.

Gugsu's treason at the head of 1,500 men, caused the "Popolo d' Italia" to print on the following day in big letters across its front page:

"HOW DEJAZ GUGSA JOINED US AT THE HEAD OF SEVERAL THOUSANDS OF HIS ARMED MEN."

An ordinary person, on reading this, naturally would think of at least four or five thousand men; but if he read the communiqué attentively he would discover that Fascist arithmetic was as false as ever. That was of no importance, since the first impression had been formed and the desired psychological effect obtained.

The above-mentioned communiqués are



With acknowledgment to the "Stampa Libera," Italian anti-Fascist daily of New York.

as to assure a better advance! The Fascist Press did not lose the opportunity to point out the dishonesty of the Ethiopians who had dared to return to occupy a province where the Italians had already established civilian authorities!

It would be tedious to reproduce here all the praise, the honours given to the victors of Adowa, of Mai Ceu, of Makallé, of Amba Alagi, of Endertá, of Tembien, of Lake Ashanghi, of Neghelli. It is only necessary to say that, for the Italians, the Ethiopian campaign has proved the astonishing efficiency of their army and has become an element of eternal glory. In the official harangues these victories were always gained against vastly superior forces. The Italian Fascist Government, in order to justify its aggression, declared as the beginning of the campaign, that it had to face the mobilisation of an army of more than a million men, with the latest modern weapons of warfare, well supplied with munitions from Britain, and officers trained in Europe.

Later on, when victory seemed within reach, the Fascist Press itself gave the lie to its former assertions. It derided the importance of the Ethiopian armies.

"As a matter of fact, the famous 50,000 men of Ras Seyoum have disappeared, faded away into thin smoke, or are reduced to a few thousand only. The equally famous

the Ethiopians. The Italians were themselves surprised at the smallness of the spoils which fell into their hands.

"Addis Ababa, May 18th, 1936.—Given the expanse of the territory occupied and the distance separating one garrison from the other, it is impossible to ascertain yet the number of arms seized in all sectors. Up to yesterday, purely in the city of Addis Ababa were given up or we have taken possession of otherwise: 7,853 rifles, 80 revolvers, 156 machine guns, 51 field gun, of which 11 were of modern make, great quantities of swords of all descriptions, an immense quantity of ammunition, a few hundred boxes of petrol, several lorries, motor cars and war material of all kinds.

"In the Harrar territory we have captured, during the operation, or found in depots abandoned by the enemy, the following material: 9,000 rifles, 140 machine guns, one bomb-thrower, 32 modern and 85 old field guns, 200 bayonettes, 50 swords, one flag. In addition we have taken possession of the whole of automobile park of the Ogaden, composed of 30 lorries in working condition, an immense quantity of munitions, both for rifle and field guns, which included 2,000 boxes of rifle shots, 15 tons of black powder, 1,000 shots for the antiquated

and when required, in a predominating number, and also 50 times better armed than their adversaries. Add to this also that the Italians had a reconnoitring air force (whilst the Ethiopians had next to none) which, together with an espionage service prepared several years in advance, permitted them to know well in advance, and almost to a certainty, all the movements of the enemy.

Italian victories, therefore, were sometimes gained against an equal, more often an inferior number of men, but, in every case, badly armed, lacking a body of staff officers (except for a small one in the Ogaden), without provisions, without planes, dressed in white clothes (shammas), without heavy artillery, opposing thousands of modern Italian field guns with less than a hundred modern ones of small calibre, replying to air-bombers with lances and swords and to the tanks with flint rifles!

This enormous, this over-powering superiority of men and arms of all sorts, did not prevent, I will not say an ordinary journalist, but a man of science and able business man, Guglielmo Marconi, from declaring, on June 16th, 1936, in a speech at the Italian Senate, that, "Marshal Badoglio, by the conquest of Ethiopia, put himself to the level of the greatest generals of modern times."

For anyone who, without passion, attentively observe modern events, nothing is so disheartening as to witness such rhetorical outbursts, which, but half-believed by those who utter them, assume, when spread by the Press and by the Radio, the force of demonstrated truths and become articles of compulsory faith for all good patriots.

These rhetorical flights create a vicious circle. The clever politician gains, by apt phrases and slogans, the needed popular support for his plans; then, even if he were to desire to show moderation and wisdom, is precluded from doing so by passions he has stirred up in the badly informed mass of the people.

Until such time when all of us shall have learned to criticise the insinuating phrases of politicians, to see through all deformation of truth put forth to foster secretly-prepared plans, we shall always remain in danger of being dragged into war.

(Continued on page 7)

Heavy Fighting Outside Addis Ababa

From Our Own Correspondent

Djibouti,

December 12th, 1937.

As a French mail is leaving to-day I am sending you what news I have received:—

1. That a big fight has taken place lately between Ancolur and Addis Ababa near the plains of Sagle in which the Italians suffered very heavy casualties and were forced to retreat and enter Addis Ababa.

2. From the Wallaga side Fitaurari Darrait and Fitaurari Dimbaru have been pressing very hard. These warriors have a very big following, and hundreds of thousands of troops are fighting under their banners. These fighters came so near as to knock at the doors of Addis Ababa. They are armed with modern weapons of war which they have recently purchased.

3. Although the rain has stopped all the caravan roads remain closed. The Italians dare not send their caravans out, and the Ethiopians have lost all fear of the Italian aeroplanes. They daringly go wherever they like and attack everywhere in very big columns.

The Italians have sent troops lately in the Dankali country, trying to catch the illegitimate son of the late Prince Lij Yassou, who had forced them to vacate all their posts from this region. So these Dankalis, and especially the Assahmara tribesmen, who for centuries have been living independently, have been resenting this very strongly. They have always been attacking these Italian troops wherever possible and keep sniping their posts. So now wherever these Italian troops pass they try to subjugate the insurgents by terrorising their people. The Fascists, whenever they catch any Dankalis, call out the whole village of old men and women and forcibly order them to see how they shoot and kill their enemies, and if any one of the onlookers turns his eyes he is at once shot dead. They think by these means to be able to bring these brave men under control, but they forget that these people will never accept Italian bondage and are never afraid of dying. So lately a very big engagement occurred between Assahmara Dankalis and the Italians, and the Ethiopians also fought on the side of the former, and in this long and terrible fight the Dankalis got to close quarters and playing havoc with their carved knives, inflicted heavy casualties, though suffering greatly by machine gun fire.

Now the Dankalis are marching to the French frontier, and if the French allow

them, they will leave their cattle and womenfolk behind and go back to revenge their dead.

The Ogas of Issa tribesmen was again called by the Italian Colonel at Dira Dawa and informed that the Italian Government were not satisfied with the behaviour of Issa tribesmen. Even if they did not bring men for enlistment, why were they sending all their goats, sheep and bullocks for sale to Djibouti instead of bringing these to Dira Dawa? The Ogas was also informed that the Italian Government was displeased with his tribesmen for continually smuggling millions of Lira and importing contraband merchandise into Abyssinia. So the Fascist Colonel gave a last chance to send emissaries—the Ogas (Akils)—into the Issa country and order all the tribesmen to obey the orders of the Government, give up their rifles and bring their flocks for sale to Dira Dawa.

And now these Akils have gone with some Italian soldiers to the Issa Country, and already a clash is reported near Obona.

It is clear now that by this action the Italians will make these warlike tribesmen their enemies so that all the Somalis who are Moslems and have up to now been fighting for the Italians will turn against them.

News has reached here from Hargeissa of two Somali Ida-gale tribesmen having been blown up by Italian bombs near this town. They found these unexploded bombs in the bush, and on trying to break them open they both lost their lives. So the District Officer at once sent a search party of trained soldiers, and these people brought 13 more unexploded bombs. Orders have been given to cut all the trees in that part, and houses have been ordered to be painted grey. All the tribesmen have been recalled from the Ethiopian territory and ordered to go towards Sheikh and Burao side for grazing. There seems something in the wind if all the reports which arrive are true. The British are sending out K.A.R. troops in Hargeissa and taking many other precautions.

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MODERN MASS WARS

Dr. William Brown, Director of the Institute of Experimental Psychology at Oxford, tells us that nobody could be a dictator who was not neurotic, with which we may readily agree.

He also says that some of his students who had voted against king and country were off to fight in Spain the moment the civil war broke out. They, however, acted as free agents. There were no ladies going about with white feathers to induce young men to join up. They decided for themselves and failed to see justice in the importation of Germans and Italians to fight against the Spanish people at the bidding of neurotics. We all claimed, he said, that we did not want to fight and were perfectly peaceful, but that the other fellow always began it. Deep down in our minds we had a strong aggressive tendency. But this aggressive tendency was hardly apparent among the eleven million voters in the Peace Ballot. It would have been interesting to find Dr. Brown developing a little further the difference between those who strive for the maintenance of good faith between nations and those who do not see that the three dictator Powers have cut themselves off from the unity of nations.

There has been little evidence of aggressive action on the part of the democratic countries against those who have frankly discarded the rule of law for that of brute force. Is it a sign of aggression to say to the dictators: You and we agreed to the Covenant of the League of Nations. You have torn up the Covenant without consulting your co-signatories. You have ruthlessly thrown to the wolves those weaker nations whom we all had promised to protect—in fact, you are the wolves to whom they have been thrown. Is that aggression? In business life there can be no progress without credit, and it is equally impossible to co-operate internationally without an assurance of good faith. We have no such assurance. When an attempt is made to find a remedy for economic evils, which can only be remedied by interdependent nations, the co-operation of dictators is wanting, they prefer to enter the shell of economic nationalism, regardless of the interests of the world at large. There is no desire to go to war against those who break their contracts, but we shall be cowards to assist them in their mediaeval barbarism. If there were a change of heart on the part of the dictators, democratic countries would rejoice,

and the prosperity of the world would increase by leaps and bounds.

The pity of it is that great countries to whom the civilised world owes so much should be in the hands of those whom Dr. Brown describes as neurotics. We are ourselves much to blame. We missed a great opportunity six years ago when we made excuses for Japan and sent our business men to China to share in the swag, so that, as Mr. Lloyd George tells us, we have incurred the bitter hatred and contempt of the Chinese, and the smaller nations of the League feel that, thanks to our supineness, we can no longer be relied upon to support them in a time of stress and are driven to look for friends in less reputable quarters behind a smoke-screen of anti-Communism.

Loyal members of the League are committed to three-party judgment. Is not that the sound policy in the long run for democrats and dictators alike?

ITALY TELLS ALL THE WORLD.

Broadcasts in Many Languages.

PROGRAMMES PRINTED IN ENGLISH.

Detailed timetables of the radio programmes which Italy is broadcasting from Rome and Bari to other countries, and which have roused comment in the British House of Commons, are contained in a booklet issued from Rome.

The programmes are printed in English. The daily broadcast from Bari includes news services in Albanian, Arabic, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Turkish, Serbian and Greek.

News services are followed by talks in these languages and by concerts of Arabian, Turkish and Grecian music. There does not appear to be any broadcast in Italian from this station, talks are followed by lessons in Italian three times a week.

Italian communities abroad are catered for in the monthly programmes from the shortwave station 2RO (Rome). But "News in Italian" is only one of a number of items in these programmes. There are far more news services in foreign languages.

On Saturday from Rome there are three news services in French and four in English. Altogether there are 22 news services during the course of the day and evening, of which only five are in Italian. There are also numerous talks in foreign languages, including Esperanto.

Other features of special non-Italian interest cater specially for Arabia, North America, Latin America, the Middle and Near East, and the Far East. One of these features, entitled "Tourist Topics," is given every day, twice a day on Saturdays, in a different language each time. Polish, Dutch and Esperanto are among the languages in which this feature is given.

Where broadcasts are relayed from Italian home stations they are elucidated with foreign language announcements. Special selections for "Italian East Africa" and "Italian communities abroad" occupy an inconspicuous place in the programmes.

His Excellency the Marshal of Italy, Rodolfo Graziani, Marquis of Neghelli, Commander of the forces of the Empire, has sent to all provinces the following telegram:

"Let it be known at once to all National and indigenous populations, but above all to the National and Colonial troops, up to the farthest corners of the Empire, that GRAZIANI remains in command of the forces of Oriental Africa, proud of putting himself at the side of His Royal Highness the Duke of Aosta, Viceroy of Ethiopia.

"Let it also be made known by every possible means to all rebels the decision of the Duce. Governors and Commanders of the armed forces of all the Empire! To us! for the glory of the King and Emperor, for that of the Magnificent Duce, always infallible in his decisions; for one objective only: that of the complete taking possession of the Empire, of its consolidation, of its greatness, beyond every human limitation, having before our eyes the vision of the Motherland; in rectitude of work, thought and action. Let this present telegram of mine be transmitted integrally in its entirety to all resident Commissars and to all troop Commanders.

GRAZIANI.

SERVIRE IL

Sua Eccellenza il Maresciallo d'Italia Rodolfo Graziani Marchese di Neghelli comandante delle truppe dell'Impero ha diretto a tutti i governi il seguente telegramma:

Sia immediatamente reso noto a tutte le popolazioni nazionali et indigene ma soprattutto alle truppe nazionali et coloniali fino ai più remoti angoli dell'Impero che GRAZIANI rimane al comando delle truppe dell'Africa Orientale fiero di porsi al fianco di S.A.R. il Duca d'Aosta Viceré d'Etiopia. Sia inoltre fatta conoscere con tutti i mezzi ai ribelli determinazione del Duce, Signori governatori et comandanti delle forze armate di tutto l'Impero! A Noi! Per la gloria del RE IMPERATORE del DUCE MAGNIFICO et infallibile nelle sue determinazioni; con un unico et solo obiettivo: quello della definitiva presa di possesso dell'Impero; del suo consolidamento; della sua grandezza; al di fuori di ogni umana miseria con la visione della Patria innanzi a noi; in rettitudine di opere, di pensiero et di azione. Presente mio telegramma sia trasmesso integralmente a tutti commissari, residenti et comandi truppe.

GRAZIANI.

Interpretando il pensiero di tutti i connazionali residenti a Gibuti ho diretto al Maresciallo Graziani il seguente telegramma:

Interpreting the mind of the Italians resident in Djibouti I have sent to Your

Dankalis got to close quarters and playing havoc with their carved knives, inflicted heavy casualties, though suffering greatly by machine gun fire.

Now the Dankalis are marching to the French frontier, and if the French allow

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GRUPE 11.

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GRAZIANI.

Interpretando il pensiero di tutti i connazionali residenti a Gibuti ho diretto al Maresciallo Graziani il seguente telegramma :
"Sua Eccellenza Maresciallo Graziani..
Telegramma di Vostra Eccellenza ha suscitato indicibile commozione . Italiani tutti terranno scolpita nel pensiero et nel cuore alta nobile parola che insegna come si serve Patria Re et Duce. Inserisco telegramma ordine giorno et prego V.V. avvelinare insieme omaggio italiani Gibuti mio particolare profondo ossequio.

ARNO

His Excellency the Marshal of Italy, Rodolfo Graziani, Marquis of Neghelli, Commander of the forces of the Empire, has sent to all provinces the following telegram :

"Let it be known at once to all National and indigenous populations, but above all to the National and Colonial troops, up to the farthest corners of the Empire, that GRAZIANI remains in command of the forces of Oriental Africa, proud of putting himself at the side of His Royal Highness the Duke of Aosta, Viceroy of Ethiopia.

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GRAZIANI.

Interpreting the mind of the Italians resident in Djibouti, I have sent to Marshal Graziani the following wire :

"To His Excellency Marshal Graziani: The telegram of Your Excellency has produced everywhere the greatest emotion. All the Italians will keep engraven in their thoughts and in their hearts your elevated and noble words which teach how to serve the Motherland, the King and the Duce. I put your telegram in the Order of the Day, and beg your Excellency to receive, together with the homage of the Italians of Djibouti, my particularly deep respects.

ARNO.

Negus Family in Poverty!

SELLING TRINKETS IN JERUSALEM

Women Refugees Become Nuns

(From a correspondent in Jerusalem.)

The shop windows of half a dozen antique and curio dealers on the main streets of Jerusalem are displaying bizarre and primitive articles of jewelry hand-beaten out of gold and silver, and equally quaint embroideries, vestments and girdles. Their erstwhile owners are the remnants of Ethiopian noble families who fled from their homeland in face of its invasion by Mussolini's armies.

Many of these articles were precious heirlooms, handed down from mother to daughter through many generations. Others are of more recent origin. But all were deeply treasured by their owners, who clung to them all through the miseries of their flight.

The sale of their trinkets reflects the desperation of these refugees' plight. They have nothing more now of which to dispose, and no source of help but their hapless Negus, who himself is in difficult straits.

Sixty Refugees.

In a dilapidated, double-storeyed house on the Street of St. Paul in Jerusalem, in the shadow of the frowning mass of Jerusalem's gaol, live the greater number of the 60 Ethiopian refugees who fled with Haile Selassie to the Holy City, and remained here when their monarch left for London.

Two little girls, grandchildren of the Emperor, are installed in a French convent school, within a stone's throw of the house occupied by the majority of their community. The leader of the group, General Fitaurari Berron, Haile Selassie's Minister of War, spends most of his time at the convent near the Jordan, built and dedicated no more than four years ago by the Empress herself. Here, too, the widows of some of the generals killed in the war have entered as nuns.

When the Negus fled from Addis Ababa he took with him 80 cases of Maria Theresa dollars, until the Italian conquest the principal form of legal tender in Ethiopia. While their value in Ethiopia was great, their sale in Europe brought in no more than several thousands of pounds. Part of this sum he left with his nobles who remained behind in Jerusalem. He also requested the Abyssinian Church authorities, which he had endowed in previous years with six moderate-sized buildings of flats, to provide one of these buildings for the refugees free of rental. Since his departure, the Negus has continued to send them sums of money for maintenance, but the amounts and frequency of the remittances have dwindled.

Hopeless Future.

What future awaits these unhappy refugees? No one knows, and they least of all. Five have obtained jobs in garages; the others command no professions, nor do most of them know any language except Amharic. A few are learning English in the hope that thus qualified they will succeed in obtaining some kind of work. But

the Ethiopian aptitude for the study of languages does not seem to be great.

The Ethiopian Church.

Ethiopians are not newcomers to the Holy City. Reputable authorities, including the monk Theodoric, record the presence of Ethiopians in Jerusalem as early as the time of the first Crusades. Their fortunes here have risen and waned. The Church of the Holy Sepulchre, on the site of which the Eastern Churches firmly believe the body of Christ to have been buried, once saw the Ethiopians well entrenched there. They possessed several chapels and shrines, and because the Church is the greatest possession of the Eastern Churches, commanded great influence. But to-day their share in the Holy Place is the least of all. They have long been forced to retire from the body of the Church, retreating to the roof of St. Helena's Chapel, where they remain to this day, possessors of the smallest "cathedral" in the world.

"Although the object of solicitude on the part of Ethiopian monarchs, they were treated particularly generously by Haile Selassie and his Empress, who showered gifts on them of buildings, vestments, Amharic manuscripts, pectoral crosses in pure gold and studded with gems, and church decorations. Some of these gifts, too, have been sold, although the majority they will treasure until sheer starvation may impel them to sell.

The 150 clergy, monks and nuns, guided by their Abbot, do not associate much with the exiled nobles. The former spend most of their time in religious devotions; the latter in proud solitude. Neither mix with the other communities of Jerusalem. Both seek to hide their sorrow and acute poverty from the rest of the world. But their tragedy is written on their faces for all to see.

Jerusalem has been the refuge of many exiles from many parts of the world; but of few has it so keenly felt the tragedy as of these simple, gentle and likeable Ethiopians.

Have you seen the latest news of the Rosselli's affair? Fascism is the same everywhere. So we have here in France the Cheka, the Ovrat! Here also the Dominis and the Cesare Rossis. Shall we ever see the end of so many infamous deeds? Will Europe be Fascistised? I do not believe it for a moment.

Attentive study of present conditions proves conclusively that the various Dictators are, everyone of them, lessing grip on their subjects. Above all, the world cannot any longer bear so much ignominy. Continue therefore, ceaselessly in your campaign. The first thing freed Italy will do will be to restore Ethiopia to her pristine independence. The Emperor, who, during these tragic days has been truly magnificent and has given the example of an exceptional dignity, will soon return to his country, triumphant over injustice and violence.

Reparation for the wrong done to Ethiopia has become a duty for all Italians.

ADA NITTI.

Vanves.

Under Sentence of Death

(Continued from page 2.)

Scottish Ambulance Unit conform closely to the second and third injunctions in these orders."

Though less tragic and terrible than the general course of this terrible narrative, one of the most deeply moving incidents in the book occurs during the journey of Koestler from prison in Malaga to prison in Seville. Handcuffed and escorted by two Civil Guards, he travelled by ordinary passenger train in a third class compartment, beside a peasant family—father, mother, grandmother, a half-grown daughter, and a baby.

"I kept my hands hidden in my sleeves like a monk, so that the handcuffs were not immediately visible. The train ambled off,

large, which was on the other side of the Front. Then los Nacionales had taken Malaga, and now they were returning home.

"Don Luis asked the husband what things had been like in Malaga under the Reds."

"The man shrugged his shoulders and said that he had never troubled his head about politics."

"The mother sighed and murmured something about the war being a great misfortune."

"No, I told her, I was an English journalist."

"The daughter looked at me with interest. Don Pedro and Don Luis grinned, but tactfully and discreetly held their tongues."

"The grandmother wanted to know what the King of England thought about 'the whole Spanish muddle'."

Discovery of Rosselli's Assassins

"Daily Express" Staff Reporter.

Paris, Wednesday.

The boasting of a conscript in the French Army barracks at Constantine, North Africa, led to the disclosure to-night of the men behind the most sensational political murder of the year.

Last June Professor Carlo Rosselli, Italian anti-Fascist leader, bitterest foe of Mussolini, was found stabbed dead with his brother Nello Rosselli, in a car at Couterne, in France.

Private Bouvier, of the Third Regiment of Chasseurs, hinted to his comrades that he knew something of the murder.

Police discovered Bouvier's name in lists of members of the Hooded Men, the revolutionary secret society of the Right. From this clue they tracked down the rest of the murder conspirators.

FOLLOWED IN CAR.

Bouvier on his own confession, was ordered by the Hooded Men to watch the Rosselli brothers last spring.

On June 11th, he went on, the Rossellis were followed when they were moving by another car containing four members of the Hooded Men. Bouvier himself, with two others, was in a third car. He said that he heard knocks coming from the cars ahead and "assumed that the Rossellis had been murdered."

A statement made by M. Max Dormoy, Minister of Interior this evening, said that the murder numbers were in all. Three are known—Filliol, Jacobiez and Puiroux. The police are searching for a fourth. Puiroux was arrested this evening.

Filliol, who is said to have been an active member of the Hooded Men, has been in hiding for several months. He has not yet been found.

CAVE POLICE CLUE.

Jacobiez has been in prison since October 22nd. It was the arrest of Jacobiez last October which put the police on the track of the Hooded Men organisation.

To-night he made a confession implicating his colleagues in the Rosselli murders. This statement was taken as further proof that the Hooded Men received support from Italy because their movement was a counter to anti-Fascist influence in France.

Of the two men accused of being accomplices, Bouvier has been arrested and another, Fauran, is under interrogation.

Fauran is the son of a wealthy Paris family. He has a big American car.

Preparations for War

(Continued from Page 5.)

Here are a few of the sophisms presented to a supposed intelligent and civilised people in this very twentieth century:

"When the Sanctionists talk of aggression they equivocate, pretending to believe that Italy is face to face with a civilised country." (February 16th, 1936.)

On the contrary, it is truly to equivocate when the assertion is put forth that the quality of the victim may modify or justify the act of aggression.

"Ninetieth day of the infamous sanctions. The condemnation of Italy for a pretended 'unprovoked aggression' is an intolerable iniquity. No honest person can deny that Ethiopia is responsible for the provocation."

Observe that if there were any truth, or any logic, in these assertions of the "Popolo d'Italia," the two Italian delegates who in 1935 admitted that Ethiopia was not responsible for the Wal-Wal incident, were, in consequence, dishonest persons.

Also that to call "iniquitous and infamous" the sanctions is to level a serious insult at the Italian Government which, in appending its signature to the Covenant of the League, had asserted the necessity and accepted the obligation of imposing sanctions against aggressors.

"The sacrifices supported by the Italian people in Africa are an immense service to civilisation and to the peace of the world, and still more so to the old colonial powers who, being only too well provided with possessions, committed the unbelievable historic error of putting obstacles in our way. Italy now conquers territories in Africa with the sole aim of freeing populations that for thousands of years have been under the oppression of sanguinary and greedy Chiefs. The virile force of the Italian people will not be caught in the net of the procedure set down by the Pact which, instead of guaranteeing peace, every day brings humanity nearer to widespread wars. Thirty centuries of history—and what glorious history; the indomitable will of growing generations; the astounding capacity to bear sacrifices and of shedding blood, shown three times at the opening of this century, are sufficient elements to keep alive our faith and to open the doors of the future."

("Evening News").

Extraordinary disclosures were made in Paris to-day about a double murder which took place on French soil last year and which has remained a mystery ever since.

The victims were Carlo Rosselli, an Italian anti-Fascist leader, and his brother Nello.

Carlo Rosselli escaped from Mussolini's prison island of Lipari in 1929, went to France and started an Italian anti-Fascist paper called "Justice and Liberty." When the Spanish civil war began he organised a battalion of anti-Fascist Italians to fight for the Red Government.

He was married to Miss Marianne Cave, M.A., daughter of Mr. E. Cave, former principal of Harrow High School for Boys.

"FOUR MEN DID IT."

Now M. Max Dormoy, the French Home Secretary announces that the responsibility for the Rosselli murders lay with the so-called Hooded Men—the anti-Communist organisation which described itself as the C.S.A.R. (Secret Committee for Revolutionary Action).

The murderers, he said, were four in number. Three of them were already under detention: a fourth was still being sought.

Two men who, it was believed, had acted as accomplices had also been taken into custody.

One of the arrested men is a soldier in a North African regiment. He is alleged to have been engaged by a member of the C.S.A.R. to watch the Rosselli brothers' movements.

The two Rossellis were motoring last June near Bagnoles de l'Orne, where they were on holiday, when they were dragged from their car and stabbed to death.

"DON'T WORRY."

Pierre Louit, another arrested C.S.A.R. man, who is alleged to have confessed to bomb outrages in Paris, has also made a statement about the Rosselli murders.

He said that his chief in the C.S.A.R. reassured him before the Paris outrages by saying:

"Don't worry. We have foreseen everything. We succeeded in other affairs: for instance it was we who stabbed the Rosselli brothers."

The French police say:

"The motives of the Rosselli murders are the gravest. We cannot reveal them now." (Reuter messages.)

In the year 900 B.C. the land of present-day Italy was dominated by the Etruscans, a Semite people, to which, later on, were added the Greeks. Rome achieved full mastery of Italy only a short time before the Christian era, and ruled it for about four centuries; for a period of almost equal length Rome survived, in a checkered manner, often under the domination of foreign rulers. Then Roman possessions were divided, and Rome itself was under the rule at one time of the Byzantines, at another of the German, of the Mongols, of the Visigoths, of the Arabs, of the Franks, of the Normans, of the Germans again, of the French, of the Spanish, of the Austrians. Italy only began to be reborn in 1848. As a matter of fact, she has existed as a united country only a fourth of the 30 centuries invoked by the "Duce." Whereas the Amharas, in the fastness of their mountains, remained unconquered for well over 30 centuries.

If the past be a guide to the future, Italy's alleged conquest of Ethiopia will not last very long.

The Pact, declared by the Duce to be a cause of war, bears, we must remember, the signature of the Italian Government.

Signature shall we say, of dynamic import, judging by a speech of his Excellency Baistrocchi in the Italian Chamber of Deputies (in reality a gathering of Fascists nominated by Rome) on April 5th, 1936:

"The army of the victorious King" (victorious by proxy, for the Italian King not even went as visitor to the Ethiopian front), avenger of a sorrowful past, that has to-day delivered to history the new victories of this Italy fashioned by the Duce, is the Army which, powerful in spirit and arms, keeps vigilant watch over our frontiers, ready to accept the challenge and to defeat anyone who dares to oppose our right to live and to expand. Comrades, I will end with the words of the Duce: "Action has spoken and will speak louder in the future!"

It is rather unfortunate that his Excellency Baistrocchi should speak of the sorrowful past of Italy, redeemed by African victories, when the Duce had boasted of 30 centuries of untarnished Italian glory!

Note that the italics of the word "expand" are Baistrocchi's very own and not ours. They appear in the official text of

While their value in Ethiopia was great, their sale in Europe brought in no more than several thousands of pounds. Part of this sum he left with his nobles who remained behind in Jerusalem. He also requested the Abyssinian Church authorities, which he had endowed in previous years with six moderate-sized buildings of flats, to provide one of these buildings for the refugees free of rental. Since his departure, the Negus has continued to send them sums of money for maintenance, but the amounts and frequency of the remittances have dwindled.

Hopeless Future.

What future awaits these unhappy refugees? No one knows, and they least of all. Five have obtained jobs in garages; the others command no professions, nor do most of them know any language except Amharic. A few are learning English in the hope that thus qualified they will succeed in obtaining some kind of work. But

of these simple, gentle and likeable Ethiopians.

Have you seen the latest news of the Russell affair? Fascism is the same everywhere. So we have here in France the Cheka, the Ovrab! Here also the Duminis and the Cesare Rossis. Shall we ever see the end of so many infamous deeds? Will Europe be Fascistised? I do not believe it for a moment.

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Scottish Ambulance Unit conform closely to the second and third injunctions in these orders."

Though less tragic and terrible than the general course of this terrible narrative, one of the most deeply moving incidents in the book occurs during the journey of Koestler from prison in Malaga to prison in Seville. Handcuffed and escorted by two Civil Guards, he travelled by ordinary passenger train in a third class compartment, beside a peasant family—father, mother, grandmother, a half-grown daughter and a baby.

"I kept my hands hidden in my sleeves like a monk, so that the handcuffs were not immediately visible. The train ambled off. "The grandmother had already got into conversation with Don Pedro and Don Luis. . . . Both the peasants and my guards avoided expressing any opinion or taking sides; they referred to Franco's army not as *los nuestros*, 'our people,' but as *los Nacionales*. The guards referred to the other side as *los Rojos* (the Reds), but the grandmother spoke of them as *los Valencianos*. The family came from Antequera, the village that Pizarro used to raid for cigarettes and seed corn. In the first chaotic days after the insurrection they had fled to Malaga to take refuge with relatives and had been unable to return to their own vil-

lage, which was on the other side of the Front. Then *los Nacionales* had taken Malaga, and now they were returning home.

"Don Luis asked the husband what things had been like in Malaga under the Reds."

"The man shrugged his shoulders and said that he had never troubled his head about politics."

"The mother sighed and murmured something about the war being a great misfortune. . . .

"No, I told her, I was an English journalist."

"The daughter looked at me with interest. Don Pedro and Don Luis grinned, but tactfully and discreetly held their tongues."

"The grandmother wanted to know what the King of England thought about 'the whole Spanish muddle.'"

"I said that His Majesty had not yet come to any final conclusion, for the opinions of his advisers were somewhat contradictory."

"Whereupon Don Pedro enquired, giving a crafty wink and baring his equine teeth, whether there were also 'Reds' in England. Don Luis, too, winked at me and burst out into raucous laughter. They both nudged me with their knees, and would obviously have been offended if I had not shared in their mirth. I did my best and joined in. It was a little secret between the three of us."

(To be continued next week.)

quality of the victim may modify or justify the act of aggression.

"Ninetieth day of the infamous sanctions. The condemnation of Italy for a pretended 'unprovoked aggression' is an intolerable iniquity. No honest person can deny that Ethiopia is responsible for the provocation."

Observe that if there were any truth, or any logic, in these assertions of the "Popolo d' Italia," the two Italian delegates who in 1935 admitted that Ethiopia was not responsible for the Wal-Wal incident, were, in consequence, dishonest persons.

Also that to call "iniquitous and infamous" the sanctions is to level a serious insult at the Italian Government which, in appending its signature to the Covenant of the League, had asserted the necessity and accepted the obligation of imposing sanctions against aggressors.

"The sacrifices supported by the Italian people in Africa are an immense service to civilisation and to the peace of the world, and still more so to the old colonial powers who, being only too well provided with possessions, committed the unbelievable historic error of putting obstacles in our way. Italy now conquers territories in Africa with the sole aim of freeing populations that for thousands of years have been under the oppression of sanguinary and greedy Chiefs. The virile force of the Italian people will not be caught in the net of the procedure set down by the Pact which, instead of guaranteeing peace, every day brings humanity nearer to wide-spread wars. Thirty centuries of history—and what glorious history; the indomitable will of growing generations; the astounding capacity to bear sacrifices and of shedding blood, shown three times at the opening of this century, are sufficient elements to keep alive our faith and to open the doors of the future." (Mussolini's speech to the National Assembly of the Corporations.)

To wage war is, therefore, to render service to Peace!

The official Italian propaganda had pretended that the Ethiopian Empire had been formed during the last 100 years by the conquest of the Gallas, of the Danakils and Kaffirs. (See previous articles.) The "Duce" rectifies: the "Chiefs" had ruled there for "thousands of years."

The thirty centuries of history to which he refers prove, if they prove anything, the great instability of kingdoms which have originated in the Peninsula.

the Mongols, of the Visigoths, of the Arabs, of the Franks, of the Normans, of the Germans again, of the French, of the Spanish, of the Austrians. Italy only began to be reborn in 1848. As a matter of fact, she has existed as a united country only a fourth of the 30 centuries invoked by the "Duce." Whereas the Amharas, in the fastness of their mountains, remained unconquered for well over 30 centuries.

If the past be a guide to the future, Italy's alleged conquest of Ethiopia will not last very long.

The Pact, declared by the Duce to be a cause of war, bears, we must remember, the signature of the Italian Government.

Signature shall we say, of dynamic import, judging by a speech of his Excellency Baistrocchi in the Italian Chamber of Deputies (in reality a gathering of Fascists nominated by Rome) on April 5th, 1936:

"The army of the victorious King" (victorious by proxy, for the Italian King not even went as visitor to the Ethiopian front), avenger of a sorrowful past, that has to-day delivered to history the new victories of this Italy fashioned by the Duce, is the Army which, powerful in spirit and arms, keeps vigilant watch over our frontiers, ready to accept the challenge and to defeat anyone who dares to oppose our right to live and to expand. Comrades, I will end with the words of the Duce: "Action has spoken and will speak louder in the future!"

It is rather unfortunate that his Excellency Baistrocchi should speak of the sorrowful past" of Italy, redeemed by African victories, when the Duce had boasted of 30 centuries of untroubled Italian glory!"

Note that the italics of the word "expand" are Baistrocchi's very own and not ours. They appear in the official text of his speech.)

"Italy who, in defending herself against barbarism, accepted the challenge of the Negus in order to permit to Britain and France the free exploitation of colonial territories, conquered also with our blood and our gold" ("Popolo d' Italia," April 24th, 1936).

France and Britain have therefore good reasons to be grateful to the Negus for having thus "taken over" Italy and kept her back from attacking French and British colonies acquired with Italian blood and gold!

(To be continued.)

All financial support for the cause of Ethiopia and all assistance for refugees and sufferers there should be sent to Dr. A. W. C. MARTIN, Ethiopian Minister, 43 Gloucester Square, Hyde Park, London, W.2.

Letters from Our Readers

HOLLAND AND ETHIOPIA.

There seems some disposition in certain quarters to forget the deplorable condition of the unfortunate Abyssinians, and to think only of the international repercussions arising from the Abyssinian War.

Our protests against Italy's breach of six treaties when invading Abyssinia cause some Italians to discount everything we say on the suffering Africans.

But it is now clear that Italy will listen to Holland, and any criticism of Holland's recent intervention must not be because Dr. Patijn took the initiative but because he seemed to play a somewhat unneutral rôle.

The Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes (Article 27 of 1889 and Article 48 of 1907) imposed on Holland and on all other signatories the duty of reminding Italy, France, Britain, and the Emperor Haile Selassie, that the Permanent Court of Arbitration is open as a means of settling the dispute about the title of Emperor.

The Netherlands Minister for Foreign Affairs acts as President of the Permanent Administrative Council established by the Hague Peace Conferences.

That Council is composed of the Diplomatic Representatives at the Hague of all the Signatory Powers, and at meetings of that Council duly summoned the presence of nine members is sufficient to render valid the discussions of the Council.

The dispute about the Imperial Title is surely a suitable subject for such a discussion.

It may be asked if Italy would allow her diplomatic Representative at the Hague to discuss the dispute about the title. That is just the kind of question which Dr. Patijn could negotiate through diplomatic channels and Holland is admittedly in a good position to act as mediator.

If Holland keeps strictly to the rules of mediation as laid down at the Hague there can be no room for criticism.

The United States and Germany are both signatories of the Hague Convention and take different views about the Imperial Title.

If Dr. Patijn listened both to the American and German diplomatic representatives I am sure that the world would then listen to Dr. Patijn.

R. C. HAWKIN.

Gen. Secretary,
International Arbitration League.

*Whilst we cannot but admire Mr. Hawkin's devotion to the Hague Court, we are unable to discover any reason for his assertion that "Italy

will listen to Holland." In our opinion so far from listening to advice or admonition from Holland the Rome-Berlin alliance prefers to bully her.

Mr. Hawkin's observation that criticism of Dr. Patijn must not be that he took the initiative, but that he "seemed to play a somewhat unneutral rôle" is obscure. Does he mean that there would have been no objection to the Dutch Minister taking the initiative had his proposal not been, as it was in fact, both inopportune and unjust?

Mr. Hawkin's phrase "the dispute about the imperial title," though singularly unfortunate, is doubtless his ingenious artifice for inducing the Italian dictator to agree to have the case of its iniquitous invasion tried before the Hague Court, where it would meet a severe trouncing. Mr. Hawkin's faith in the cause of arbitration deserves its meed of praise, but his wish that the Italian aggressor would submit his misdeeds to the Hague tribunal is the only begetter of his cheerful assumption that the aggressor is willing to do so. Continue, Mr. Hawkin, your agitation for international arbitration, but do not gull yourself into imagining that the Fascist culture is a cooing dove.—Editor, "New Times and Ethiopia News."

You have, no doubt, discovered, as I have to my discomfort, how many people there are whom we have hitherto regarded as unquestionably fair-minded, adopting the "fait-accomplé" attitude towards aggressive and brutal national murder and theft (so long as they meet with success). It does not seem to weigh with such people that the general prevalence of such an attitude would mean disaster.

ALBERT E. BENNETT.

Greetings to Haile Selassie and the Ethiopian people.

"One who never turned his back, but
march breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were
worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled
To fight better, sleep to wake."

ROBERT BROWNING.

No. 57—2/6.

The receipt of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.
"New Times and Ethiopia News" can also be obtained from any newsagent.

(Continued from page 1.)

The Ethiopians are well armed with arms they have taken from the Italians. Do not ask me for the names of their Chief; they are often simple soldiers who fight under the direction of their comrades. In short, it is the Ethiopian people which fights for its independence.

Mammo Hailemikael, a valiant young man who had submitted to the Italians under pressure of Ras Hailu, has revolted against them and has reached the province of Gojam. He is the son of a daughter of Ras Hailu and a Tigrean notable. He has always been the most cherished and most admired favourite of the people of Gojam, who call him affectionately Mammo, which means "baby."

A great part of the population has rallied to his support, a fact which causes the Italians much disquiet.

Ras Hailu's General Defeats Italians.

Moreover, in Gojam also, Fitaurari (General) Zallaky Likou, who was one of Ras Hailu's generals, has attacked and beaten the Italian garrison in the town of Daughella and now occupies it in their stead.

Emperor Theodore's Grandson in Arms.

In the province of Quara a certain Graz-mach Warkou has defeated the Italian garrison at Baherd-Ghiorghis and now occupies this town and half the province.

OUR EXCHANGES

The great daily newspapers regularly receive "New Times and Ethiopia News." Here is a first selection from the newspapers, not so well known to most of our readers, though some of them dailies, with considerable circulations, we receive by way of exchange copy.

First List of Publications on the exchange list of "New Times and Ethiopia News"—

FRANCE.	
"Cette Semaine"	Paris
"La Lumière"	"
"Le Cahier"	"
"Terre Libre"	"
"Giustizia e Libertà" (in Italian)	"
"Nuovo Avanti!" (in Italian)	"
"Avanti Italia!" (in Italian)	"
"Voce degli Italiani" (in Italian)	"
"Bulletin of Association Hispanophile de France"	"
"Bulletin International Federation of Trade Unions"	"
"Bulletin pour le Droit d'Asile et l'aide aux réfugiés politiques"	"
"Bulletin Comité Mondial des femmes contre la Guerre et le Fascisme"	"
"Informateur Italien"	"
"Espace Nouvelle"	"
"Information Service of Foreign Bureau of German Trade Unions"	"
"Editions Nouvelles Internationales"	"
"World Wide News"	"
"L'en Dehors"	Orleans
"Nouvelle Espagne Antifasciste"	Perpignan
"Courrier Universel de la Jeunesse"	Paris

SPAIN.	
"Tierra y Libertad"	Barcelona
"Servicio Español de Información"	Valencia
"Servicio de Información"	Barcelona
"Publications of Generalitat de Catalunya"	"
"Faro"	"
"Esforzo"	"
"El Diluvio"	"
"Boletín de Información"	"

SWITZERLAND.	
"Economía Franca"	Mendrisio
"Journal des Nations"	Geneva

HOLLAND.	
"Eenheid door Democratie"	Utrecht

YUGOSLAVIA.	
"Balkan Herald"	Belgrade

AFRICA.	
"West African Pilot"	Lagos
"Sierra Leone Weekly News"	Freetown
"Gold Coast Times"	Cape Coast
"Comet"	Lagos
"African Morning Post"	Accra

INDIA.	
"Al-Islah"	Sylhet
"World Peace"	Calcutta
"Vision"	Ramnagar
"Truth"	Lahore
"Servants of India"	Poona
"Peace"	Ashram
"New Times Weekly"	Lahore
"New Crescent"	Lucknow
"Mussalman"	Calcutta
"Muslim Review"	Lucknow
"Medical Digest"	Bombay
"Mahatma"	Poona
"Jewish Tribune"	Bombay
"Indian Social Reformer"	Bombay
"Indian Christian Patriot"	Dusasapuram
"Federated India"	Madras
"Dharmarajya Illustrated Weekly"	Delhi
"Deccan Times"	Madras
"Bulletin of Adyar Library"	Adyar

AMERICA—(North).	
"Stampa Libera" (in Italian)	New York
"Unione" (in Italian)	Pueblo
"Proletario" (in Italian)	Brooklyn
"Corriere del Popolo" (in Italian)	San Francisco
"Cultura Proletaria" (in Italian)	New York
"Cultura Popolare" (in Italian)	San Francisco
"Arbitrator"	New York
"Man"	Los Angeles
"Spanish Revolution"	New York
"Dodecanesian"	New York

CANADA.	
"Protestant Action"	Toronto

AMERICA (Central and South).	
"Central American Express"	Port Limon
"Daily Chronicle"	Georgetown
"Nassau Daily Tribune"	Nassau
"Suzinamsche Volk Krant" (in Dutch)	Surinam
"People"	Port-of-Spain
"Plain Talk"	Kingston
"Curacaoche Volks Krant" (in Dutch)	Curacao
"Studi Sociali" (in Italian)	Montevideo
"Tribune"	Georgetown

ROMANIA.	
"Boletinel Cartii Romanesti"	Bucharest

MALTA.	
"Times of Malta"	Valetta

TRANSVAAL.	
"Star"	Johannesburg

CANADA.	
"Workers' Voice"	Toronto

NEW ZEALAND.	
"Woman To-day"	Wellington

CZECHOSLOVAKIA.	
"Bulletin of Foreign Bureau of German Trade Unions"	Komatau

ENGLAND.	
"Workers' Monthly"	Guilford
"P.E.N. News"	London
"New Leader"	"
"Modern Mystic"	"
"K.H. News-Letter Service"	"
"Friends of Europe"	"
"Comradeship and Wheatheat"	"
"Christian Telegraphic Times"	"

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ETHIOPIA RED CROSS FILM. Taken in the course of the Ethiopian War. Organisations desiring to show this film should apply to the Film Secretary, "New Times and Ethiopia News."

ETHIOPIA LECTURES. Speakers on Ethiopia may be obtained by the Meetings Secretary, "New Times and Ethiopia News."

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For Dr. Martin's Ethiopia Fund

THE SUFFRAGETTE MOVEMENT.—By Sylvia Pankhurst. Published by Lovat Dickson, Ltd., 38, Bedford Street, W.C.2. Price 7s. 6d. net.

THE HOME FRONT.—A mirror to Life in England during the Great War. By Sylvia Pankhurst. Hutchinson, 7s. 6d. net.

SAVE THE MOTHERS.—A plea for a national maternity service, by E. Sylvia Pankhurst. George Allen and Unwin, 6s. net.

All the above from "New Times and Ethiopia News."

"New Times and Ethiopia News," being distributed on Federation terms, can be obtained, to order, from any newsagent.

IN THE U.S.A.

"New Times and Ethiopia News" can be obtained from:

ANDREW KERTESZ,
Universal Distributors,
38, Union Square, Room 22, New York City.

RIDLEY A. LEWIS,
Universal Ethiopian Students Association,
8/10, West 117th Street, Suite 2.W,
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HENRY KING,
128, West 134th Street, Apartment 14,
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Forest Road, Walthamstow, E.17. (T.U.)

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 758.00/39 FOR Despatch #150

FROM Sweden (Dearing) DATED Jan. 19, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 670

REGARDING:

Possible recognition of Italy's conquest of Ethiopia, by Sweden. Discussion by Mr. Sandler, Swedish Foreign Minister, of question of, -, during debate in the Riksdag on January 17th

fp

865D.01/388

It was a misconception to speak of a "negative" answer to the telegram addressed to the King of Sweden by the Emperor of Ethiopia at the time the Netherlands' Government approached Sweden with regard to possible recognition of Italy's conquest of Ethiopia. The answer, Mr. Sandler said, embodied merely a statement that the question would be

be treated in Sweden in accordance with proper constitutional procedure. The examination of the question had actually been carried on in consultation with the proper organs of the Riksdag.

A more important consequence of the Italo-Ethiopian conflict, Mr. Sandler stated, lay in the fact that the system of sanctions laid down by the League Covenant had de facto become inoperative.

"This fact," Mr. Sandler said, "has been stated so clearly, in statements made in a number of small countries, and also in several other countries, that all that now remains to be done is for the competent international organs at Geneva to draw the (obvious) conclusions. There must be no uncertainty that from Sweden's standpoint, the conclusion will be drawn that the League, as things now stand, has de facto passed on to a stage where the system of sanctions has ceased to be operative."

He was convinced that Sweden could reckon with support for this view from the States, free of alliances, with which it usually cooperated. He was equally convinced that several other States, which were members of the League, shared this opinion and might also be prepared to express it. He firmly expected, moreover, that no important member of the League would in that respect make it difficult for Sweden and for States in a like position to continue cooperation in the League. There would very soon be opportunity to discuss the matter before the competent international forum.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 765.742/1 FOR #35

FROM Bulgaria (MacVitty) DATED Jan. 17, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ...

REGARDING: Bulgarian Government's intention to recognize the Italian conquest of Ethiopia. Extension of treaty of commerce and navigation between Bulgaria and Italy refers to Italian Sovereign as King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia, which is the first official suggestion of-

mb

865D.01 / 389

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.6518/10 FOR #143

FROM Costa Rica (Hornibrook) DATED Feb. 4, 1938

TO _____ NAME _____ 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING:

Credentials of new Italian Minister to Costa Rica
contain no mention of the Italian Sovereign's empery
in Ethiopia.

enc

865D.01/390

865D.01

San José, Costa Rica,
February 4, 1938.

No.143

Subject: New Italian Minister "Gets Off to Bad Start"

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that II Baron di Fontana degli Angeli Scaduto Mendola arrived in San José on January 18 and formally presented his credentials on January 27. In the Foreign Office announcement in the OFFICIAL GAZETTE of the receipt of the letters of recall of the outgoing Minister and of credence of the incoming, the two representatives were referred to as "Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the King of Italy", no mention being made of the Italian Sovereign's empery over Abyssinia. The outgoing Minister, Dr. Iginio

Ugo

Ugo Faralli, departed for his new post in Lima, Peru, on January 16.

After wrangling for two days with the Costa Rican Government for a special train to Port Limon, Dr. Faralli finally succeeded in having one grudgingly placed at his disposal. On the same day that Dr. Faralli departed, the Baron arrived at Port Limon and immediately demanded a special train to San José. He was advised by Costa Rican authorities that it was impossible to make such arrangements, but that the Presidential private car would be attached to the regular train and that the Government would be very glad indeed to have him avail himself of such accommodations. When the Baron was informed that the train was due to depart he replied that he was occupied with breakfast and suggested that its departure be delayed. Train officials thereupon ordered the train to proceed to San José without the Minister. A special train was again telegraphically demanded by the Baron and his request communicated to the President who declined to place one at his disposal. It is hardly necessary for me to state that these two incidents created a very bad impression with the Costa Ricans and have been made the subject of adverse comment by at least one of the members of the diplomatic corps.

I may add that when I returned the first formal call of the Baron, at an hour which had been designated by him, I was received by the Minister attired in riding breeches, but he was gracious enough to offer apologies for his costume. If our servants told the truth and I believe they did, the Baroness made her initial call on Mrs. Hornibrook, only after she had sent her servant to the

the door to inquire if Mrs. Hornibrook was at home, and upon being informed that she was "out" returned in ten minutes and left her card. I assume that the same technic was used at other legations, but have not been so informed.

My own personal impression of the new Minister is that he has rather a pleasing personality, but appears to be lacking in a proper conception of the responsibilities of his own position or a proper respect for both the country to which he is accredited and his colleagues.

Respectfully yours,

Wm H. Hornibrook.

WHH:HMC:mc
701.1

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.00/287 *Confidential File* FOR Tel. # 207, 7 p.m.

FROM France (Bullitt) DATED February 7, 1938.
TO NAME 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING: FOR THE SECRETARY;

Chautemps commented on demands he believed would be made of Italy by the British in exchange for recognition of the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.65/456 ^{Confidential File} FOR Tel. 27- 7pm

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED Feb. 7, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 o.p.o.

REGARDING: Statement of Lord Perth that while Eden had made the statement to effect that recognition of the Empire had been demanded by the Italians as a condition precedent to opening of negotiations between Italy and Great Britain, Perth himself now felt that the question could form part of the general settlement.

fp

865D . 01 / 392

Confidential File

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

LMS

This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (B)

FROM

Brussels

Dated February 11, 1938

Rec'd 3:25 p. m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

23, February 11, 7 p. m.

My despatch No. 125 of January 8, 1938.

Confidentially informed today at the Foreign Office that the Cabinet has under consideration de facto recognition of Italian occupation of Ethiopia.

In view of Dutch recognition which is imminent it is anticipated that Belgium will take similar action in deciding.

Gully pointed out that both Italian and Spanish questions have become primarily matters of internal politics in view of the attitude of certain Belgian Socialist leaders.

The Government would like to accredit a representative of some sort to Franco but has had to abandon the idea for the present as Socialist opposition to Nationalist Spain is much more marked than to Italy.

GIBSON

EMB:RGC

FILED

865D.01/393

N/C

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

JR

DI This telegram must be
closely paraphrased be-
fore being communicated
to anyone. (B)

Rome

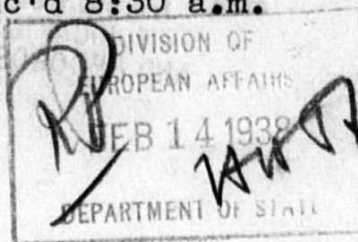
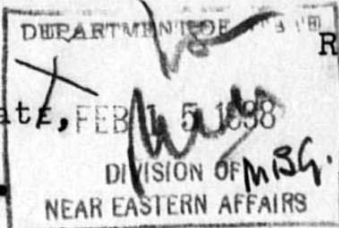
FROM

Dated February 14, 1938

Rec'd 8:30 a.m.

Secretary of State, FEB 15 1938

Washington.



29, February 14, 1 p.m.

CONFIDENTIAL.

141.65/383

My 20, February 3, 1 p.m.

In a recent conversation with Count Ciano he again reiterated the necessity of British recognition of the Empire as an essential element in the settlement of Italo-British difficulties. He explained that no other country was being pressed for such recognition but that inasmuch as Great Britain had been one of the leaders of the sanctionist move against Italy its recognition of the Empire was considered necessary.

PHILLIPS

DDM:RR

FEB 16 1938

FILED

865D.01/394

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

MG

1-1336

FROM

GRAY

The Hague

Dated February 15, 1938

Rec'd 9 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

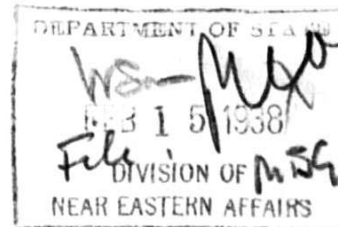
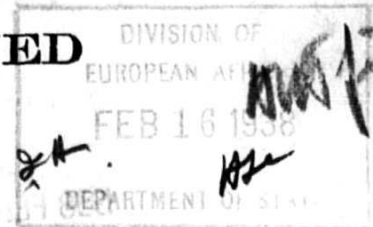
18, February 15, 10 a.m.

As indicated in my 13, February 10, 1 p.m.; an official communique yesterday afternoon announced that the new Dutch Minister with letter of credence addressed to the King-Emperor will take up his post in Rome before the end of the month.

GORDON

DDM

RR



865D.01/395

FILED

FEB 17 1938

N/C

701.5665

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 859.9111/175 FOR Despatch #78

FROM Denmark (Owsley) DATED Jan 6, 1938
TO _____ NAME _____ 1-1127 o p o

REGARDING:

Government- Italian East Africa. Report from reliable sources that the Dutch Government has taken the initiative in obtaining the support of the other Oslo states toward exercising their influence with large Powers in Western Europe with object of urging recognition of Italy's sovereignty over Abyssinia.

fp

865D.01/396

396

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL

"Deutsches Nachrichtenbüro" reports from The Hague that, according to reliable sources the Dutch Government has taken the initiative in obtaining the support of the other Oslo States toward exercising their influence with the large Powers in western Europe, with the object of urging a recognition of Italy's sovereignty over Abyssinia.

Commenting on this statement, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. P. Munch, says that the question of accrediting new Ministers was raised by Holland some time ago, but the Dutch approach met with no results.

"Norsk Telegrambüro" (Norwegian Telegram Bureau) has placed the telegram from The Hague before the Norwegian Foreign Minister, Mr. Koht, who stated that it was correct that the Dutch Government had taken the initiative toward this end. However, Norway had replied that it did not find it appropriate to take such steps. Mr. Koht referred to his statement in the Norwegian Storting on June 24th on which occasion he said that the question of Italy's sovereignty over Abyssinia was a matter which must be settled by the large Powers. Since then

nothing

nothing further has been heard from Holland.

B/2

Børsen, December 22, 1937.

His Majesty, The King of Denmark, has received from
Negus Haile Selassie a telegram, which reads, in part,
as follows:

"I am worried to learn that, upon the initiative of the Dutch Government, the States of the Oslo Convention intend to take up for consideration the question of a recognition de jure of Italy's annexation of Abyssinia. Even if the League of Nations proved unable to stop the planned annexation, it had none the less in the interest of peace been able to vindicate the vital principle of not recognizing the annexation. The Abyssinian people continue to object to submit to Italian domination. In the name of my people, I direct an appeal to Your Majesty requesting that Your Government continue to maintain the traditional policy of the protection of international law."

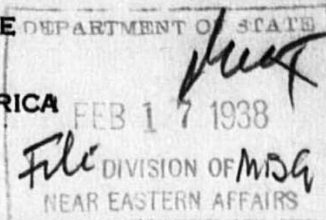
Politiken, December 29, 1937.

No. 249

THE FOREIGN SERVICE DEPARTMENT OF STATE
RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

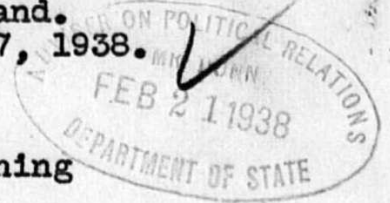


1938 FEB 16 PM 2 27



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DIVISION OF AMERICAN CONSULATE GENERAL
COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS
London, England.
February 7, 1938.



SUBJECT: Enclosing Press Articles Concerning
Ethiopia.

FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK

THE HONORABLE

To the Field

1. U. S. A.

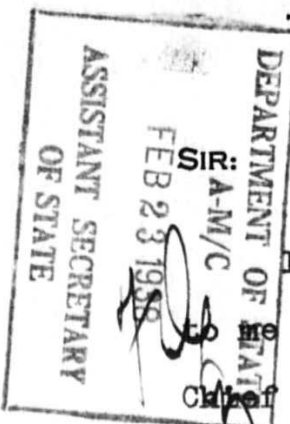
THE SECRETARY OF STATE,

Copy to Consulate, Aden

WASHINGTON

Commercial Office (A-31/0)

To Aden 2/22/38
am



I have the honor to refer to a letter addressed
to me on December 21, 1937, by Mr. Wallace Murray,
Chief of the Division of Near Eastern Affairs of the
Department of State.

There are attached hereto, in response to the
1/2. foregoing letter, the two following newspaper articles
which recently appeared in the London press:-

1. Italy Facing Big Tasks in Abyssinia.
(The Daily Telegraph and Morning Post -
February 2, 1938).
2. Italians in Abyssinia - Recognition
of Sovereignty.
(To the Editor of the Times -
The Times - February 2, 1938).

The first of the enclosed articles is based
upon information sent to the DAILY TELEGRAPH AND
MORNING POST from the latter's special correspondent
at Aden. In this article, which deals, in large
part, with the present economic situation in Ethiopia

(the)/

865D.01/397

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(the Italian Empire in Abyssinia), mention is made of the difficulties by which the Viceroy, the Duke of Aosta, is faced in the administration and development of the country. According to the article these difficulties fall into the following three groups:

1. Scarcity of capital.
2. Passive Resistance of the Natives.
3. Stifling effect of the State-controlled system of trading which has broken down individual initiative.

Mention is made in the article of the fact that the sum of £5,000,000 (\$ 25,000,000) is said to have been invested so far in Ethiopia by Italian industrialists. At the same time it is stated, however, that small contractors have no return on their capital investments, and that the larger firms are slowing down.

The article points out, on the other hand, that passive resistance on the part of the native population has by no means broken down. The natives are still supplied with arms, it being estimated that only about one third of the arms they possessed at the close of the war against the Italians were actually surrendered to the conquerors. Brigandage is still carried on; among the objects of attack are the trains on the railway from Djibouti to Addis Ababa.

The writer of the article is of the opinion that despite the existence of unsettled conditions in Ethiopia, the Italian occupation is not in jeopardy.

His/


His remarks on the subject are as follows:

" So long as Rome keeps peace with Europe, Egypt and French North Africa, she will hold her new empire; but in the event of her being involved in a war beyond her own frontiers the Abyssinians might drive her out."

Further information of interest concerning the attitude of the native population of Abyssinia towards the Italian regime is given in the article under the heading of "Agriculture Stopped".

The article from THE TIMES of February 2, 1938, which is also attached hereto, is in the form of a letter addressed to the Editor of the Times. It bears the signatures of a number of very prominent British people and constitutes, in fact, a protest against a too hasty recognition by Great Britain of Italian sovereignty in Ethiopia.

Respectfully yours,


Henry M. Wolcott,
American Consul.

Enclosures:

1. Clipping from The Daily Telegraph and Morning Post - February 2, 1938.
2. Clipping from The Times - February 2, 1938.

ITALY FACING BIG TASKS IN ABYSSINIA

LITTLE MONEY FOR DEVELOPMENT

SETTLERS RETURN HOME

LARGE AREAS STILL RULED BY NATIVES

From OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT
ADEN, Tuesday.

The Italian Empire in Abyssinia will celebrate in May the second anniversary of its proclamation.

It is now possible to reveal some of the formidable tasks which face the Viceroy, the Duke of Aosta, in administering and developing the country, which is more than treble the size of Italy, and has a hostile native population of nearly 5,000,000.

The Fascist Empire is faced with three big problems:

Want of capital.

Passive resistance of the natives.

Stifling effect of the State-controlled system of trading, which has broken down individual initiative.

According to the Italian officials, who are not prone to under-rate such figures, Italian industrialists have so far invested £5,000,000 in Abyssinia. The Rome Government is not putting money into the country; there is no visible sign of prospecting and industrial development.

INVESTMENTS LOST

The Italians are returning to their fatherland in considerable numbers by way of Massawa and Djibouti. They include soldiers, traders and navvies taken out for public work, notably road building and housing.

The small contractors have sunk what capital they could raise and found no return on it. The larger firms are slowing down.

Transport is crippled because permits to import spare parts from Italy are not to hand. Rome is short of foreign currencies; the Suez Canal dues have become a luxury.

Lack of capital has kept back colonisation, even in the comparatively secure zones.

About 15,000 acres have been earmarked as fit for clearing and subsequent cultivation. Settlers will in time take up this land, divided into farms of about 150 acres each.

An acre costs about £3. A wooden hut containing a kitchen and two small rooms costs from £350 upwards for the materials alone according to the price of timber from Abyssinia, and of nails, glass and fittings which must be brought from Naples.

At present a cubic foot of building timber costs the equivalent of £6. Cement, when shipped from Naples or Messina, costs exactly double its price in Italy. Everything else, from flour to eggs and meat, is equally expensive and often hard to get.

FEW ARMS SURRENDERED

The military governors of the "provinces" into which Abyssinia was divided, on paper, in 1936, are still living in the tents they took to the war. Of the soldier-settlers who were to leave the rifle for the plough little has been heard since the first 100 were put on the land, nearly two years ago.

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The Italian occupation is firmly established in Addis Ababa, Harar, Dire-dawa and other towns, and within some 50 miles' radius around them. But in the greater part of those regions where the lack of roads makes the quick movement of troops impossible the rases, or native chieftains, still hold sway.

It is estimated that only about a third of the arms they possessed at the close of the war against the Italians has been surrendered to the conquerors.

The railway from Djibouti to Addis Ababa is continually harassed by brigands who attack the trains. Black-shirt legionaries man the trucks and are equipped with rifles, daggers and machine-guns. They are sometimes outnumbered, however, by the hordes which swoop down on the line and retire to the hills or the jungle with their booty.

This does not mean that Italian occupation is in jeopardy. So long as Rome keeps peace with Europe, Egypt and French North Africa, she will hold her new empire; but in the event of her being involved in a war beyond her own frontiers the Abyssinians might drive her out.

AGRICULTURE STOPPED

The natives have abandoned agriculture; many thousands have fled to the jungle and the hills. They resent being paid less for their wheat, cattle and coffee than their own market price.

Sometimes they have been given lottery tickets instead of 100-lira notes by unscrupulous State employees, or otherwise cheated, and so they mistrust Italian paper money.

When Italy introduces her new imperial coinage in silver and bronze, confidence may be restored. Until the native goes back to his occupation of producing food, prices will remain high.

Italian traders complain that they are stifled by Fascist boards of control, endless permits, licences and similar formalities, and a system of bribery hitherto unequalled.

When the Italian troops occupied Addis Ababa the old system of trading by individuals was abolished. British Indians and other foreigners were forbidden to carry on their business; boards controlled from Rome were set up instead.

Since then no goods may be imported from Italy without a permit for each consignment, including small parcels. Traders may not even export to Italy unless they have sent at least 80 per cent. of the goods to foreign countries.

The condition of the natives has not improved. Money cannot be spent on their welfare when there is not enough for the army of occupation.

The Abyssinians complain of the injustice and cruelty of Blackshirt Legionaries, but respect the regulars and their officers.

(Enclosure No. 2 to despatch No. 249 dated February 7, 1938, from the American Consulate General, London, entitled "Enclosing Press Articles Concerning Ethiopia".)

Source: THE TIMES - February 2, 1938.

Letters to the Editor

ITALIANS IN ABYSSINIA

RECOGNITION OF SOVEREIGNTY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES

Sir,—For some years now your correspondence columns have given evidence of the widespread conviction that very much of our present trouble in the international field is due to the difficulties of any revision of the Versailles Treaties and to their irrevocable character; that had the treaties been in some way more provisional, with loopholes for change, our present task would be immeasurably easier.

It is the more surprising therefore that some of these same correspondents would have us be guilty of the same haste in rendering as permanent as possible war-made changes of the map of the last year or two. It is fully a year ago that one of your contemporaries, notable for its advocacy for the revision of the Versailles Treaties, was urging us to recognize Franco as the legitimate Government of Spain, "as he would be in Madrid in a few days." There was the same haste in some quarters in urging the recognition of Manchukuo. So now, it would seem, we must recognize immediately Italian sovereignty in Abyssinia. The advice is given at the very moment when information from Abyssinia, including particularly the information of your own Correspondents, makes it quite clear that Italy has altogether failed to conquer the country as a whole. "With the exception of the bigger towns and provinces where the means of communications are such that military aid can be secured quickly in cases of emergency," says a recent dispatch in *The Times*, "Abyssinia is governed by Abyssinian Chieftains who carry on a guerrilla warfare against the Italians, harassing them at every opportunity."

We are asked in the face of such conditions to recognize Italian sovereignty in the country, at a time furthermore when the whole Mediterranean situation is notoriously unstable, and when recognition involves humiliating acceptance as legitimate of a situation brought about by what less than three years ago we and nearly the whole world officially stigmatized as a disgraceful and cynical disregard of law. Why the haste to give moral and diplomatic sanction to international burglary which has not even succeeded?

About the accuracy of the terms just used there can be no dispute. We, with 50 others, gave a verdict to the effect that Italy had broken the law she had solemnly undertaken to observe and uphold.

Perhaps we were unable to prevent that crime, and were powerless to do anything but what we did—stand by inactive so far as effective aid to the victim was concerned. We had not the power, we were told, to do anything else. But no such excuse can be evoked about recognition. It is not suggested by those who urge recognition that we act under duress if we now declare diplomatically that he whom yesterday we stigmatized as a burglar is now the rightful owner of the swag. All that is urged by advocates of recognition is that we might get something out of the burglar. It is the basis on which the American racketeer conducts his business.

It serves no purpose, we are informed, not to recognize the burglar. Yet we are told almost daily that the real hope of peace lies not in material—economic or

50 others, gave a verdict to the effect that Italy had broken the law she had solemnly undertaken to observe and uphold.

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It serves no purpose, we are informed, not to recognize the burglar. Yet we are told almost daily that the real hope of peace lies not in material—economic or military—but in moral sanction, in stopping the degeneration of international morality, in restoring some dependable international law. Is this the way we propose to do it?

The argument from expediency really means that morals have no value in the international field, that it is not worth while to make even a trifling sacrifice to maintain a decent respect for a moral civilized code of conduct.

Apart even from that consideration, however, the material grounds upon which recognition is demanded are quite unsound. Conquered provinces or States whose independence the conqueror declares to be finished and done for have a curious aptitude for coming to life—as witness in recent years, for example, Poland and Alsace.

We differ from those nations that have so far recognized the Italian annexation in that we are a great African power—indeed, the greatest. To the African peoples Abyssinia may become, in its future struggles against the conqueror, a symbol of their hopes and rights. Would it be of no avail in our Imperial work, dependent so much upon the respect and loyalty of the African peoples, to have refused recognition? “In the long memory of Africa’s black millions” that “moral gesture” may indeed come to have immense material importance.

Yours, &c.,

HERBERT DUNELM, EDWARD LICHFIELD, W. T. ST. ASAPH, NORMAN ANGELL, S. C. CARPENTER, CECIL DAVIES, MARGERY FRY, DOROTHY GLADSTONE, S. W. HUGHES, H. L. JAMES, DANIEL LAMONT, MARSHALL B. LANG, W. R. MATTHEWS, GILBERT MURRAY, ERNEST J. PRICE, J. SCOTT LIDGETT, E. G. SELWYN.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.00/292 *Italy* FOR Memorandum

FROM State Department (Welles) DATED Feb. 1, 1938
TO Under Secretary NAME 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING: Italian conquest of Ethiopia. Conversation with the Italian Ambassador who stated that Italy desired the recognition by Great Britain of the Italian Empire, namely the, ~~9~~

fp

865D.01/399

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE835.00/802 1/7 FORTel.#15 7pm.....

~~FROM~~ Italy (.....) DATEDFeb.17.1938.....
TO NAME 1-1127 ...

REGARDING:

New credentials of Ambassador of the Argentine to Italy may be addressed to the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia; inquires if this interpretation of recent remarks of the Minister for Foreign Affairs is correct.

h1c

865D.01/399

865D.01

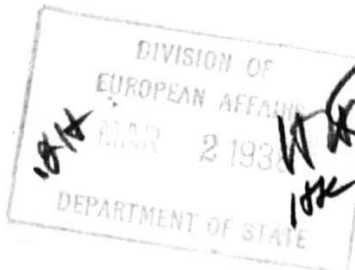


LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

No. 241. 1938 FEB 19 PM 12 Helsinki, January 26, 1938.

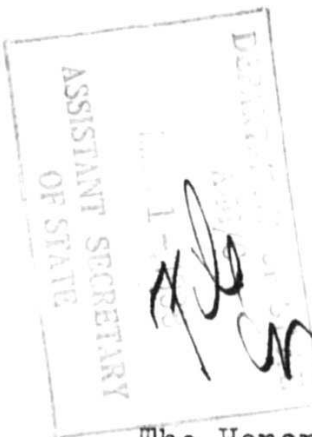
Subject: Finnish Government's Attitude Towards Proposed
Recognition of Title of King of Italy as Emperor
of Abyssinia.

COMMUNICATIONS
AND RECORDS

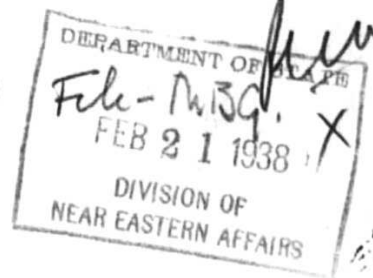


To the Field
in U. S. A.

*ONLY after
Consultation Geneva.*



Copy Transmitted by the
Commercial Office (A-M/O)
To *Geneva*



The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

Referring to my despatch no. 181 of December 22, 1937, reporting the Finnish Government's attitude with regard to a proposal recently made by the Netherlands Government to the Oslo group of states on the subject of the recognition of the imperial title assumed by the King of Italy after the Abyssinian conquest, I have the honor to inform the Department that, according to an authorized statement in the local press today, the Finnish Government has instructed its Legation at The

Hague

~~5000-0-001/1338~~

865D.01/400

N/C

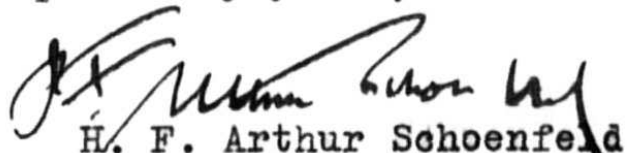
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FILED
MAR 5 - 1938

Hague to advise the Netherlands Government "that an expectant attitude dependent, among other things, upon a unanimous procedure of an extensive group of states" will be taken by the Finnish Government in this matter for the present.

It will be recalled from my despatch cited that the Finnish Foreign Minister informed me of the Finnish Government's intention to follow the lead of the British and French Governments with reference to the recognition of the title of Emperor of Ethiopia assumed by the King of Italy. It is believed possible here that some decision on the part of those two Great Powers with reference to this matter may result from the forthcoming meeting at Geneva of the Council of the League of Nations.

Respectfully yours,



H. F. Arthur Schoenfeld

714

HFAS/iel

In quintuplicate to Department.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 848t.00/75 FOR #24

FROM Nairobi (Smith) DATED Jan. 6, 1938
TO NAME 1-1137 GPO

REGARDING: Jubaland.
Discussion of the rumor current in Rome in December
that -- would be ceded to Germany, which caused local
press great anxiety.

lec

865D.01/401

4 2 1

865 d. 01
The rumor current in Rome in December that Jubaland would be ceded to Germany caused the local press great anxiety. Jubaland, comprising some 35,000 square miles, was, until June 29, 1925, a part of Kenya and was transferred to the Italian Government "without consultation with the people of this country and in clear contradiction of the principle of Trusteeship which was at that time enjoying a vogue among British critics of policy in Africa". It was part of the territorial reward to Italy for coming into the war on the side of the Allies.

The grant of Jubaland to Germany would set an embarrassing example to Britain and would place France and Britain in a most awkward position before the bar of world opinion. Of course, the local press saw in the suggested transfer nothing but an action of spite on the part of Italy, as it would give Germany a place in the African sun at a point most awkward for the British Empire.

Riot

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 760p.65/10 FOR #375

FROM Estonia (Leonard) DATED Feb.3, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 epo

REGARDING:

Toast given by the Latvian Foreign Minister to the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia.

Estonian reaction to -. Opinion of the Estonian Government that this action does not apply to Estonia, which has taken no action looking to the recognition of Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.1765/4 FOR #844

FROM Nicaragua (Long) DATED Feb. 15, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 000

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian conquest of Ethiopia by Nicaragua:
Memorandum of conversation with Minister for Foreign
Affairs stating circumstances of recognition.

emc

865D.01/404

484

865D.01

Managua, D. N., Nicaragua, February 15, 1938.

No. 844.

Subject: NICARAGUA AND ITALY.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that the Managua newspapers for February 9 and 10, 1938, carried a news item to the effect that the new Nicaraguan Minister near the Government of Italy, Francisco Tomas Medina, had presented his credentials to Victor Emmanuel in the character of King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia. The newspapers reported that this implied Nicaraguan recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

Secretary Castleman of this Legation, before departing on leave, called at the Foreign Office to present his farewell respects to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

During

During the course of this interview, he inquired of the Foreign Minister concerning the circumstances of this recognition. He embodied the statements of the Minister in a memorandum which is enclosed herewith.

Respectfully yours,

Boaz Long

Enclosure:

Memorandum prepared by Secretary
Reginald Saxon Castleman, dated
February 10, 1938, but unsigned.

Ch

Enclosure to Despatch No. 844 under date of February 15, 1938, from the American Legation at Managua, Nicaragua.

February 10, 1938.

MEMORANDUM

RECOGNITION OF THE KING OF ITALY
AS EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA

The Foreign Minister told me this afternoon that the following were the circumstances in which Nicaragua came to accredit their new Minister in Italy to the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia:

He told me that when the Italian Minister in Costa Rica and Nicaragua, named Parelli, I believe, came here to present his credentials he made a great deal of fuss about his being received as representative of the King and Emperor. The Minister said that he obtained information as to how Suvitch was received by President Roosevelt, and that they decided to do the same thing here. The Minister was to call the King of Italy also the Emperor but the Nicaraguans were to refer to him only as the King. The Minister (Parelli) did not like this, and said that the other Italian Minister in Central America, who has his residence in Guatemala and covers Salvador and Honduras as well as Guatemala, had been recognized as representative of the King and Emperor. Cordero Reyes checked this up and found it to be a fact, but he stood pat as regards Nicaragua's position in the manner, doing as had been planned.

What spilled the beans was the French treaty negotiations. France paid for coffee imports in exchange, not in compensation units. Still, the French want a treaty which is actually a compensation pact. They wish to have Nicaragua agree to purchase one-third of the Government imports (for all Government purposes) from French Manufacturers, also to have all coffee exports to France carried in French ships, and several other concessions.

France, he said, takes about a million dollars worth of Nicaraguan coffee which is too low in grade to go anywhere but to France or Italy. He said that the country cannot afford to bear the loss of this amount of trade, particularly at the present time. It would about finish things.

Therefore they are interested in trying to get a market in Italy (he mentioned that France resells a great deal of this low grade coffee and, as I have said, that Italy is a market which would take it).

At first Nicaragua tried to negotiate with the

Italian

Minister in San José, but he said that negotiations would have to take place in Rome. They at first accredited their Minister to Rome to the King alone. He found that he could not be received with his credentials in this style. Then they had to give him credentials to the King-Emperor, and these he presented the other day.

He remarked that the Italians interpret this as recognition of the conquest of Ethiopia (he did not mention whether this was the Nicaraguan Envoy's report or what he gathered from the press reports).

As to desire to favor the Fascists, he stated that this does not exist, that the desperate nature of the requirement of Nicaragua to get an outlet for her low grade coffee (as he does not hope for a great deal from France) is what has determined action.

He stated that the arms were purchased in Italy (this the President has also told me) because they were needed at once when the country was threatened and they could not wait to get them from the United States, where factories were tied up with orders for some time. Italy offered them at once, and the purchase was made there (he also added that some came from Czechoslovakia).

He said that the Italians showed no particular desire to curry favor by the terms of the sale and made it very hard for Nicaragua, that when at first it was to be a case of half payment with order and the rest in coffee, or on installments, finally they insisted (the day before the ship arrived) on getting a draft on New York before a case left the ship. This, he said (and again the President told me the same thing) put Nicaragua in a very tight place and caused them a great deal of trouble. It was only with extreme difficulty that the payment was arranged.

Reginald S. Castleman



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

LONDON, February 14, 1938.

No. 3904

SUBJECT: Dutch Proposal for the Recognition of the
Italian Conquest of Ethiopia

2 44

25

11/10

11/10

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to transcribe below questions in the House of Commons on February 9 and the Foreign Secretary's answers regarding the steps taken by the Dutch Government with reference to the possibility of recognizing the Italian conquest of Ethiopia:

"Mr. Arthur Henderson asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs whether he is aware of the proposal recently made by the Dutch Government to the three Scandinavian Governments that they should join with the British and French Governments in recognizing the Italian conquest of Ethiopia; and whether the Dutch Government acted with the approval and authority of His Majesty's Government?"

Mr.

365D.01/405

MAR 3 - 1938
MAR 3 - 1938

PH 17

Mr. Eden: I understand that towards the end of last year the Netherlands Government consulted the Governments of the other Oslo Convention Powers on the possibility of reaching agreement on the terms of the letters of credence of their representatives in Rome, and that before taking any final step the Netherlands Government had intended to consult both His Majesty's Government and the French Government. The initiative in this matter lay exclusively with the Netherlands Government, and the reply, therefore, to the second part of the question is in the negative. The Netherlands Government have, however, recently informed His Majesty's Government officially of the initiative taken by them in this matter.

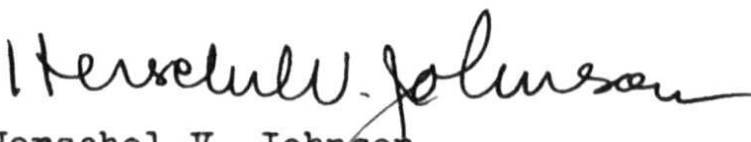
Mr. Henderson: Is it still the policy of His Majesty's Government to refuse to recognize the Italian conquest of Ethiopia?

Mr. Eden: That is quite another question. The hon. Gentleman asked about the action of the Netherlands Government.

Mr. Henderson rose ---

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member's supplementary question does not arise out of the question on the Paper."

Respectfully yours,


Herschel V. Johnson
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim



LEGATION OF THE

RECEIVED 5 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

The Hague, Netherlands,
February 14, 1938.

No. 183

1938 FEB 24 PM 2 16

SUBJECT: NETHERLANDS RECOGNITION OF KING OF ITALY
AS EMPEROR OF ABYSSINIA

RECEIVED ON POLITICAL RELATIONS
MR. DUNN
MAR 8 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

CONFIDENTIAL

Copy to Consulate General, MBS.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
A.M/C
MAR 1 1938
SECRETARY

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Commercial Office (A-M/C)
To

General
File - MBS.
3/11/38
GR

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

TREATY DIVISION
MAR 15 1938
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
File 3/2/38
MBS.

2.01/386
With reference to my telegram No. 13, of February 10, concerning recognition by the Dutch Government of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia, I have the honor briefly to report further as follows.

701.5665
In the conversation with the Secretary General of the Foreign Office referred to in my said telegram, he said that the Dutch Government might have held the matter of recognition in abeyance, and not taken action as promptly as it has now decided to do, had it not felt its hand forced by.....

865D.01/406

by the disclosures to the press in the premises made by certain Ministers in Scandinavian States, and by the resulting interpellations in the First and Second Chambers here, particularly in the First Chamber, where the Foreign Minister had to go on record as favoring de facto recognition. After that the Government felt that it could not much longer refrain from taking action in accordance with this declaration of its point of view.

It remains true that in the First Chamber debate the Foreign Minister went further than he had to. As indicated in a previous despatch (No. 109³⁴³ of December 22), the Italian Government had officially informed Dr. Patijn that if the Dutch Government would accredit a new Minister with letters of credence addressed to the King of Italy and the Emperor of Abyssinia, the Italian Government would not object to disclaimers, through the medium of the Dutch press or statements by Dr. Patijn in Chamber debate, as to the extent of recognition thereby involved - whereas in the First Chamber debate Dr. Patijn went so far as explicitly to advocate de facto recognition.

The local press of January 12 carried reports that our commercial treaty negotiations with Italy were abruptly broken off as a result of Mussolini's insistence that the treaty signature involve our recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia. Neither subsequent items in the local press nor the Department's press conference memorandum of the said date have made clear just what did happen, and there is speculation....

7/11/65 31

speculation here in interested circles whether our Government is precluded by the so-called "Stimson Doctrine" and by our adherence to the 1933 "Anti-War Nonaggression and Conciliation Treaty" from extending even a de facto recognition to the Italian Empire. I should greatly appreciate confidential information as to the exact situation with respect to the discontinuance of our trade treaty negotiations, together with such further information concerning our Government's policy in connection with this question as the Department may feel inclined to give me.

Respectfully yours,

George A. Gordon.
George A. Gordon.

File No. 701

In quintuplicate

GAG:ekd

4 Carbon Copy
Received *[Signature]*

X

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.1765/5 FOR #791

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED Feb. 8, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 870

REGARDING: New Nicaraguan Minister presented credentials to
"King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia",

emc

✓

865D.01/407

165d.01

No. 791

ROME, February 8, 1938.

Subject: Nicaraguan Minister Presents Credentials.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that Don Tomas Francisco Medina today presented to the Sovereign letters accrediting him as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of Nicaragua to the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia.

Respectfully yours,

William Phillips.

ELR/ame

701

865d.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741665/473 FOR #795

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED Feb. 11, 1938
TO NAME I-1127 GPO

REGARDING:

British recognition of the Italian Empire. The Italian Foreign Minister stressed the necessity of -, and explained that Italy was not pressing any other country for such recognition, that this was being done inasmuch as Great Britain had taken the lead in the sanctionist move against Italy.

865D.01/408

865d.01

865D.01/409

409

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 762.00/164 ^{Confidential File} FOR Tel#278 7 p.m.

FROM France (Bullitt) DATED Feb. 21, 1938
~~#4~~ NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

Conversation with Chautemps regarding Hitler's speech.
Claims British Government promised French Government that
the King of Italy would not be recognized as Emperor of Ethiopia except
after a promise by Italy to cease anti-French and anti-British propa-
ganda and withdraw Italian troops from Spain.

ML

CONFIDENTIAL FILE

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.65/468 FOR Tel. #39, 6 pm

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED Feb. 23, 1938
TO NAME 1 1127 870

REGARDING:

Announcement by Chamberlain that he is prepared to recognize the Italian Empire as an effort toward successful negotiations between Italy and Great Britain.

865D.01/410



LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Copenhagen, February 15, 1938.

~~EU~~
~~PA-D~~
~~A-M/C~~

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 109



Subject: ARRIVAL OF NEW ITALIAN MINISTER TO DENMARK:
QUESTION OF RECOGNITION OF ITALY IN ABYSSINIA

Rating	Distribution Instructions
Grade for	

Copy Transmitted by the
Commercial Office (A-M/O)
To

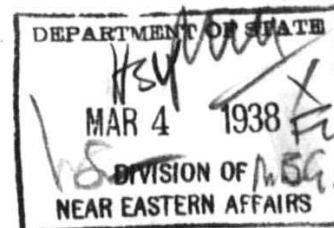
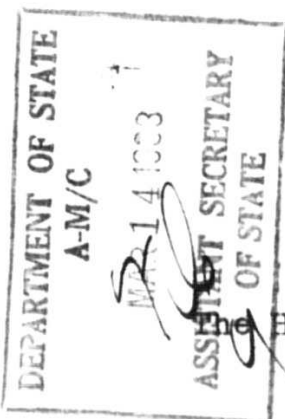
Rome
3/14/38
G3

865D.01/411

RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

1938 MAR 3 AM 11 49

Copy to Embassy at Rome



MAR 16 1938

PTT

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to inform the Department that the
new Italian Minister to Denmark, Signor Guiseppe Sapuppo,
arrived in Copenhagen on February 5th and presented his
credentials to King Christian on February 10th. He
called upon me Saturday at 12 noon, February 12th.
During the course of conversation, he stated that he

was

note
701.5965

was a native of Sicily, that he had formerly served as Secretary of Legation in Stockholm and in Helsinki, and had come here from his last assignment as Minister to Bulgaria. He is 47 years of age and gives the impression of being capable and active, diplomatic without arrogance or ostentation.

From other sources I have been informed that the Danish Government purposed to raise no objection to the terms of his credentials as the representative of the King of Italy and Emperor of Abyssinia; but that, in reply, these expressions would not be employed, but simply the term "August Sovereign".

I understand that the Danish Government, in choosing this particular form of address, merely followed the precedent of the Argentine Government, which was the first to find itself confronted with the problem.

8650.01/337
In regard to the general question of the recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia, I have the honor to refer to my telegram of December 31, 1937 and to state that subsequent information confirms the position of the Danish Government as described in that telegram, an unwillingness to grant such recognition. Dr. Munch, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who has been a very ardent supporter of the League of Nations, is understood to be definitely opposed to this course.

As to the attitude of other states in the Oslo group, I have been recently informed that the Belgian Government did not feel that it could continue indefinitely without an Ambassador at Rome and that it would accordingly appoint such a representative in the near

future

future, according recognition as suggested by the Netherlands Government. Press reports indicate Finland has declined Netherlands proposals, but, from other sources, I have been told that the Swedish Government, having an Ambassador at Rome, does not find it necessary to give immediate consideration to the matter, but that it will give its consideration when the occasion therefor may arise.

I may add that I have just been informed by Mr. Perkins, Counselor of the Legation, that he has learned that, as late as last evening, Dr. Munch, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, orally informed the Belgian Minister that Denmark would not recognize the Italian acquisition of Abyssinia, no matter whether such recognition was accorded by Belgium, France, Great Britain or any other country - that Denmark would take such a step only after the approval of such acquisition by the League of Nations.

Respectfully yours,

Alvin Mansfield Owsley
Alvin Mansfield Owsley

700

AMO:MFP/AO

In triplicate to the Department.

2 Carbon Copies
Received *[Signature]*

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 770.00/511 FOR Tel. 9- 6pm

FROM Turkey (Kelley) DATED Feb. 28, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ope

REGARDING: Government- Italian East Africa. Chief question discussed at the three days session of the Permanent Council of the Balkan Entente was that of Ethiopia. Gist of formula finally adopted?

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.65/479 Confidential File FOR Tel. 320 - 8pm

FROM France (Wilson) DATED March 1, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Announcement by the Balkan Entente states of their intention to recognize the Ethiopian conquest.

fp

865D.01/413

413

Confidential File

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.00/306 FOR Tel. 48- 7pm

FROM Geneva (Bucknell) DATED March 1, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ope

REGARDING: Recognition of conquest of Ethiopia. A, -would gravely weaken the case for non-recognition of Manchukuo and there is speculation as to whether an Anglo-Italian agreement might not be followed at an opportune time by British negotiations with Japan.

fp

8650.01/414

4/4

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.5665/10 FOR #196

FROM Netherlands (Benton) DATED Feb. 28, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian sovereignty in Ethiopia by
Netherlands: Local press reaction to decision to
accredit Minister to Rome with letters of credence
to the King and Emperor.

emc

865D.01/415

415

865d 01

No: 195

The Hague, Netherlands,
February 28, 1938.

**SUBJECT: LOCAL PRESS REACTION TO THE NETHERLANDS
DECISION TO SEND A MINISTER TO ROME WITH
LETTERS OF CREDENCE ADDRESSED TO THE KING-
EMPEROR.**

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to my telegram No. 18, of February 15, concerning a communiqué issued by the Netherlands Government Press Service to the effect that the new Minister to Rome (Dr. Hubrecht) would leave for his post before the end of February with letters of credence addressed to the King-Emperor.

This communiqué, as well as a subsequent semi-official one stating that Dr. Hubrecht would leave for Rome on February 25, were naturally given much prominence in the local press; ...

press; and there has been, in addition, a certain amount of comment, which may be summarized as follows.

The liberal **ALGEMENEN HANDELSBLAD**, in an editorial in its issue of February 16, is of the opinion that the Government's decision to send a Minister to Rome with letters of credence addressed to the King-Emperor will be disadvantageous, rather than advantageous, in respect to this country's international relations. The same paper is further of the opinion that the moment chosen by Mr. Patijn to re-establish normal diplomatic relations with Italy was not an auspicious one, and that the general European political situation will not improve in consequence.

As was to have been expected, the National Socialist **NATIONAAL DAGBLAD** views with satisfaction Dr. Patijn's decision to send a Minister to Italy. It observes that the Netherlands has reestablished normal relations with Italy at a moment when Great Britain is doing its best to get closer to Italy and Germany. Thus, in the opinion of this newspaper, Dr. Patijn has gotten ahead of the Great Powers and has delivered the Netherlands from the tutelage of London and Paris.

The **NEDERLANDER**, the organ of the Christian Historical Party, is of the opinion that the Netherlands, in restoring normal diplomatic relations with Italy, has taken an inopportune step. This newspaper observes with regret that the step was taken in spite of the unfavorable replies received from the different Oslo States.

The liberal **TELEGRAAF**, in its issue of February 15,
observes...

observes that the Government's decision to restore normal diplomatic relations with Italy has been received with mixed feelings in Parliamentary circles. After remarking that the different points of view concerning Netherlands recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia have already been clearly expressed in both Chambers of the States General, this newspaper makes the following comment:

"It has already been said, and this has been confirmed, that the Parties of the Right, including the National Socialist, are prepared, albeit without great enthusiasm, to approve this step. The Parties of the Left, however, are still fairly serious in their opposition to recognition of the annexation, although there is a difference between the points of view of the Social Democrats and the Liberal Democrats on the one hand, and the Liberals on the other.

The Left members of Parliament maintain their point of view that the step of the Netherlands Government is most unfortunate. This applies not only to the principle involved but to the moment decided upon to take the step. Apart from their view of the occupation of Abyssinia, they feel that the Netherlands is acting much too rashly and that it was not up to the Netherlands to range itself among the first Powers to recognize an accomplished fact. They reason that the reception which Dr. Patijn's initiative was accorded in the Oslo States should have led to caution.

In Right parliamentary circles the point of view is maintained that, after international law, diplomacy in international relations has certain requirements, and diplomacy demands a sense of reality. Furthermore, these circles argue that it would be wrong if the two ideological fronts were to oppose one another in Europe, the autonomist nations on the one side, and the League of Nations, consisting of the democratic countries, on the other. As an example of a matter of fact acceptance of reality, of a fact that cannot be altered, we repeat what Mr. van Lanschot (Catholic) said in the First

Chamber...

Chamber on January 11: 'If a murder or manslaughter has been committed and the doctor recognizes that the victim is dead, does such recognition imply that the doctor approves the murder or manslaughter?' In so far as this is necessary, it should be recalled that the Netherlands Government has admitted a recognition de facto and not de jure. After the extensive exchange of views in the First Chamber there is no reason to discuss once again the more or less academic distinction between these forms of recognition."

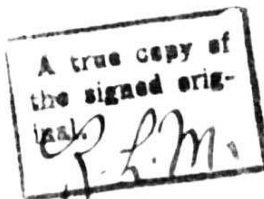
Respectfully yours,

For the Minister:

J. Webb Benton,
First Secretary of Legation.

File No.701

In quintuplicate.
JWB/ma.



DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 755.00/66 FOR # 176

FROM Belgium (Gibson) DATED February 28, 1938.
TO NAME 1-1127 o p o

REGARDING: Intention of Belgian Government to consider de facto
recognition of occupation by Italy of Abyssinia.

865D.01/416

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.6538/1 FOR #82

FROM Haiti (Mayer) DATED Feb. 28, 1938
TO NAME 1 1127 870

REGARDING: Recognition of Italian sovereignty in Ethiopia by Haiti in
credentials on new Italian Minister to Haiti; this is first
indication of Haitian recognition of the conquest by Italy.

emc

865D.01/417

865D 01

Port-au-Prince, Haiti, February 28, 1938.

No. 82

Subject: Italian Minister to Haiti -
presentation of letters of credence.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

1/ I have the honor to annex a clipping from the press containing the texts of the speeches made by President Vincent and Signor Mario Porta at the ceremony during which the latter on February 24, 1938, presented his letters of credence as Italian Minister to Haiti. The speeches are of no particular significance in themselves, but the denomination of the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia was the first indication which the Legation had noticed of Haitian recognition of the conquest by Italy of that country.

In inquiry, however, I learn that in an exchange of telegrams between President Vincent and the King of Italy over a year ago, the title of Emperor of Ethiopia was

accorded

accorded that sovereign. An official of the Foreign Office, M. Turenne Carrié, informed me that, inasmuch as Haiti had no interests in Ethiopia, there had never appeared to be any reason why Haiti should withhold this recognition. In his opinion, it was useless for Haiti to engage in any disagreement over such a matter. The Haitian press notes, but fails to comment upon, this recognition.

Signor Porta, who has called on me, states that he will divide his time between Haiti and the Dominican Republic and that he will maintain a house in both capitals. Signora Porta is an English woman. His previous career is summarized in the enclosed clipping.

Respectfully yours,

FERDINAND L. MAYER

Enclosure:

1. Clipping from HAITI-JOURNAL,
February 25, 1938.

HDP:12

701

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 841.00/1352 FOR Memorandum

FROM State Department (Welles) DATED Feb. 28, 1938
TO Under Secretary NAME 1-1127 o p o

REGARDING: Recognition of Italian position in Abyssinia. Memorandum left by the British Ambassador stating that His Majesty's Government intimated their willingness to open conversations with the Italian Government and to include in such conversation the question of, -.

fp

865D.01/418

418

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.65/488 Confidential File FOR Tel. #49, lpm.

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED March 8, 1938.
TO NAME 1-1127 o r o

REGARDING: Recognition of Ethiopia.

Text of memorandum which Lord Perth proposes to read to
Count Ciano in inaugurating Anglo-Italian conversations
touched subject of -

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 760c.65/17 FOR Tel. #50, 5pm.

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED March 9, 1938.
TO NAME 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING: Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

During visit to Rome, Colonel Beck proposed a toast to King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia which is tantamount to recognition.

he

865D.01/420

420

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.7165/4 FOR Tel.#38 lpm

FROM Rumania Gunther) DATED Mar.9,1938

TO NAME 1 1127 870

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian sovereignty in Ethiopia by
Rumania: New Rumanian Minister to Italy accredited to
King and Emperor of Ethiopia.

✓ emc

865D.01/421

865D.01

JR

GRAY

Bucharest

Dated March 9, 1938

Rec'd 9:15 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

38, March 9, 1 p.m.

Duiliu Zamfirescu, Roumanian Minister at Warsaw
appointed to Rome, accredited to King and Emperor of
Ethiopia.

GUNTHER

HPD

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.00/320 ^{Confidential File} FOR #197 Political

FROM Geneva (Bucknell) DATED Mar. 3, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 o p o

REGARDING: Recognition of Abyssinia by Great Britain. Possible effect of -, upon eventual rapprochement between Great Britain and Japan which it was taken for granted would then have to include a British recognition of Manchukuo.

ge

865D.01/422

Confidential File

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.65/489 Confidential File FOR Tel. #56. 7 pm

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED Mar. 10, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 o r o

REGARDING:

Account of British Ambassador's conversation with Ciano, March 8. Ciano expressed considerable disappointment over the necessity of the delay in recognition by Great Britain of the Italian conquest in Abyssinia, however he seemed to attach more importance to the Spanish question.

ge

865D.01/423

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.5565/5 FOR Tel.#29 1pm

FROM Belgium (Gibson) DATED Mar.12.1938
TO NAME 1 1127 ore

REGARDING:

Belgian recognition of Italian sovereignty in
Ethiopia: Credentials of new Ambassador to Italy
will be addressed to "The King and Emperor of Ethiopia".

emc✓

865D.01/424

865D.01

MBo

GRAY

Brussels

Dated March 12, 1938

Rec'd 10:15 a.m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

29, March 12, 1 p.m.

Following a Cabinet meeting held yesterday afternoon the press announced the decision to appoint a Belgian Ambassador to Rome.

The selection for this post is Count Kerchove de Deuterghem present Ambassador in Paris whose agreement is being requested.

The above information has been confirmed to us by the Foreign Office. The new Ambassador's letters of credence will be addressed to "The King and Emperor of Ethiopia."

GIBSON

LIP:

8654.01
865D.01/ 425

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.00/327 FOR #199

FROM Netherlands (Gordon) DATED Mar. 1, 1938

TP//

NAME

1-1127

870

REGARDING:

Conversation with a Netherlander regarding the European situation. Believes Italy will come to an understanding with England on the Mediterranean and Spanish problems in return for recognition of Abyssinian and opening of the London money markets to Italy.

ML

865D.01

865D.01 / 426

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 841.00 P. R./533 FOR Des#4014

FROM Great Britain (Johnson) DATED Mar. 7, 1938

~~to~~

NAME

1-1127

070

REGARDING: Emperor of Abyssinia - Extract from a letter received from the Foreign Office as read in court relative to the recognition of the Italian Government over Ethiopia.

465401
The case in the High Court of Justice, Chancery
Division "Halle Selassie v. Cable and Wireless Limited,"
may be of interest, because of the following extract as
read in court from a letter received from the Foreign
Office, dated December 29, 1937:

"In reply I am to state that, as you
have already been informed, His Majesty's
Government recognize the Italian Government
as the Government de facto of the parts of
Ethiopia which they control; that according
to the information in the possession of His
Majesty's Government the Italian Government
are now in control of virtually the whole of
Ethiopia; and that therefore His Majesty's
Government recognize the Italian Government
as the Government de facto of virtually the
whole of that country."

A full report of the hearings in the case of March 2 is included in this week's press clippings.

The following statement was made on March 7 by the Ethiopian Legation in London in connection with rumors of offers made by the Italian Government to the Emperor of Ethiopia:

"The Ethiopian Legation announces that reports that his Majesty the Emperor of Ethiopia is considering an offer by the Italian Government to arrange for his return to rule over a part of his country, subject to Italian sovereignty, are without foundation. His Majesty's attitude to such offers has undergone no change."

865d.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 864.00/1471 Confidential File FOR Tel. #403, 7 pm

FROM France (Wilson) DATED Mar. 14, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ope

REGARDING:

Recognition of Ethiopia. In negotiations with Italy Chamberlain agreed to negotiate on basis of recognition of Ethiopia without receiving any assurances as to Italy's future action. Significance of the fact that Italy refuses to consider any reference to Central Europe in the negotiations.

ge

865D.01/427

Confidential File

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 574.G 2/445 FOR Tel #17 9 pm

FROM Telecommunications (White) DATED Mar. 18. 1938
Conference, Cairo
NAME
AMDEL 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Radio and telegraph conference, Cairo, 1938.
Delegation informed that Italian East Africa
will sign the radio and telegraph regulations.
This term includes Eritrea, Italian Somaliland
and Ethiopia. Requests Department's opinion
whether signature of the U.S. to radio regula-
tions could properly be construed as recogni-
tion of inclusion of Ethiopia in Italian East
Africa.

TD

REB

GRAY

Cairo

Dated March 18, 1938

Rec'd 3:50 p. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

17, March 18, 9 p. m.

Delegation informed that "Italian East Africa" will sign the radio and telegraph regulations. This term includes Eritrea, Italian Somaliland and Ethiopia. See Bern Bureau notification 281, April 16, 1937, page 3.

572.1A1 Notification 264

37462
Note
2652.01

Delegation will appreciate Department's opinion whether in these circumstances signature of the United States to radio regulations could properly be construed recognition of inclusion of Ethiopia in Italian East Africa and expression of Department's wishes in the matter. It will be recalled that both the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics signed the Madrid convention in 1932 at a time when the United States had not yet recognized the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

WHITE

ETR

NPL

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.65/509 *Confidential File* FOR Tel. #69, noon

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED March 20, 1938.
TO NAME 1-1127 070

REGARDING: Italian proposed formula with respect to British
recognition of Ethiopia.



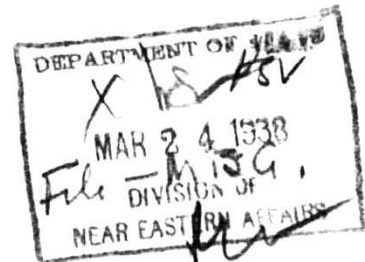
No. 215

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

The Hague, Netherlands,
March 12, 1938.

SUBJECT: INTERPELLATION IN THE SECOND CHAMBER RELATIVE
TO THE NETHERLANDS' DECISION TO SEND A MINISTER
TO ROME WITH LETTERS OF CREDENCE ADDRESSED TO
THE KING - EMPEROR

RECEIVED PM 2 21



865D.01/430

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

FILED
APR 11 1938

Sir:

Adverting to the Legation's telegram No. 18 of February 15, and relevant despatches, I have the honor to report that on March 10 Mr. Wijnkoop, a Communist member of the Second Chamber, interpellated the Foreign Minister concerning the Government's decision to send a Minister to Rome with letters of credence addressed to the King-Emperor. Mr. Wijnkoop's questions, as translated from the local press, are as follows:

1.

N/C

1. "What real national interest has been served by the rash initiative of the Netherlands Government which resulted in the so-called regularization of diplomatic relations between the Netherlands and Italy - a real service to the latter - inasmuch as the Minister himself has always made it clear that there never was any question of an abnormal situation between the two countries?

2. Does the Minister realize that as a result of the recognition of the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia, the independence of the Netherlands and the security of Indonesia are in danger and that the vital interests of both peoples are now more menaced than they ever were before?

3. Inasmuch as the recognition of Italy's sovereignty over Abyssinia conflicts not only with Article 10 of the Covenant of the League of Nations but also with the so-called Stimson declaration, which has been adopted by the League of Nations, is the Minister aware that, as a result of the Government's policy in this matter, not only collective security and the latest interpretations of international law are again undermined, but also the slender ties between the United States and the League of Nations are still further weakened, to the detriment of the Netherlands?

4. Why did not the Minister inform the Second Chamber of his step on November 30 last, since it is now apparent that his initiative was made the subject of public discussion in the Finnish Reichstag on November 23?

5. In view of the fact that the Minister has expressly told the First Chamber that the de facto recognition (of the Italian occupation of Abyssinia) implies acceptance of the legal consequences thereof, what significance does he now attach to the telegram to the Emperor of Abyssinia stating that the Netherlands Government had no intention of according a de jure recognition of the conquest of Abyssinia?

6. What measure of détente has been achieved by the Minister's initiative?"

Minister Patijn's reply to these questions - he covers them as a whole and not separately - is summarized below. As he himself observes, he is unable to add much to what he has

already....

already said on the subject.

While Minister at Rome he was able to see for himself the fatal consequences of sanctions for all participating countries, including the Netherlands. Commercial relations between these countries were interrupted and other countries profited thereby. The League of Nations should actually have applied military sanctions, but this was not possible. In the carrying out of economic sanctions the Netherlands did its duty. These sanctions were later abolished and the League of Nations resigned itself to the new situation. Last October the question of the recognition of the King of Italy as Emperor of Abyssinia came to the fore; England and France regarded recognition as something to be bargained for, but in the case of the Netherlands, which had no interests involved, it was different and the Government was able to pursue its traditional policy of independence.

The Stimson declaration is destined to be trampled on. The League of Nations has not bound itself in any way to abide by that declaration. The non-recognition of situations created by violence conflicts with history. At present the small nations cannot count on collective security, and the British Government has made that abundantly clear.

A clear distinction must be made between the recognition of a fact and the approval of the steps leading up to that fact. Thus, Netherlands recognition of the King of Italy as Emperor of Abyssinia does not imply approval of the events leading up to the annexation of Abyssinia by Italy.

Following Mr. Patijn's reply a general debate over the interpellation took place, the outstanding points of which are as follows:

Mr. Smeenk (Anti-Revolutionary) and Mr. Bongerts (Roman Catholic) expressed approval of Mr. Patijn's policy, the former observing that de facto recognition of the existing situation does not in any sense imply approval of the events preceding the annexation of Abyssinia by Italy. Mr. Rost van Tonningen....

Tonningen (National Socialist) congratulated Mr. Patijn on his step, as did his colleague, Mr. Marchant d'Ansembourg, who introduced a motion approving the Government's policy, which, however, was not discussed for want of sufficient support, as the majority of members were apparently of the opinion that such a motion was of no value.

Mr. Bierema (Liberal) made it clear that he would have been better pleased had the Netherlands not assumed the initiative in the matter. Mr. Albarda (Social Democrat) expressed in no uncertain language the opinion that the attitude of Mr. Patijn is not only deplorable but highly objectionable. It makes little difference, he said, whether recognition is de facto or de jure. Mr. Patijn, he believes, desired to recognize a fait accompli, but he questions whether one really exists, inasmuch as Italy has not yet been able to dominate Abyssinia completely. He also considers that Mr. Patijn has spoken too slightingly of sanctions which have proven a good object lesson to the Fascist States.

Mr. Joeke (Liberal Democrat) also criticized Mr. Patijn's handling of the Abyssinian question. He observed that, although the League of Nations had acquiesced in the conquest of Abyssinia, acquiescence is something totally different from the de facto recognition the Netherlands has accorded. He further expressed the opinion that the Netherlands had no legal right whatsoever to accord Italy de facto recognition of her Abyssinian conquest, except in agreement with the other interested countries. The policy adopted by the Netherlands in this matter does not, in his opinion, accord with this
country's...

country's legal and moral obligations, nor does it contribute to the appeasement of the general situation.

Following the conclusion of the debate Mr. Patijn again spoke. He observed that no one should be misled into thinking that the Netherlands no longer attaches importance to the League of Nations, which is the reverse of fact. He admitted that the Oslo States, after they had been consulted, had failed to follow his initiative, but added that Belgium would most likely do so next week. The Netherlands has not consulted the League of Nations, he said, because the League has actually accepted, albeit only tacitly, the Italian annexation of Abyssinia as an accomplished fact. He believes that the so-called Stimson declaration is based on fallacious reasoning, as is also, to a certain extent, the Covenant of the League.

Following Mr. Patijn, Mr. Wijnkoop made a few closing remarks, in the main upholding the point of view expressed in his six questions. The debate was thereupon concluded, the Second Chamber subsequently adjourning until early in April.

Respectfully yours,

George A. Gordon.
George A. Gordon.

File No. 701

In quintuplicate

JWB:ekd

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 770.00/518 FOR #558

FROM Turkey (Kelley) DATED Mar. 2, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127

REGARDING: Recognition of Italy's conquest of Ethiopia

Decision of the Conference of Balkan Entente at
Ankara on-.

dg

8652.01/431

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 770.00/517 FOR despatch #2142

FROM Greece (MacVeagh) DATED Mar. 5, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 o p o

REGARDING: Recognition of the Conquest of Ethiopia by Italy
Conference of Balkan Entente at Ankara approved -.

dg

865D.01/432

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 760c.65/12 FOR Despatch #824

FROM Italy (Read) DATED March 11, 1938.
TO NAME 1-1127 cpo

REGARDING: Visit of Minister Beck to Rome.

Reports -, that there were no commitments whatsoever, political, commercial or financial, excepting the practical recognition by Beck of Italy's conquest of Ethiopia.

ho

865D.01/433

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.0013/2 FOR despatch #45

FROM Great Britain (Johnson) DATED Mar.15, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ...

REGARDING: Recognition of the conquest by Italy
of Ethiopia.

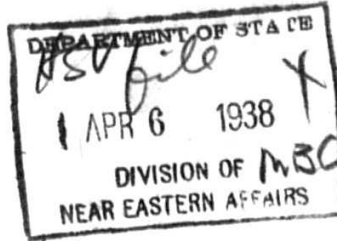
Italy has no serious objection to acceding
to the London Naval treaty but is holding
off for some trading material for the
-.

dg

865D.01/434



EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



No. 97

LONDON, March 25, 1938.

SUBJECT: British de facto recognition of Ethiopia.

7
RECEIVED
DEPARTMENT OF STATE
1938 APR 5 PM 2 56

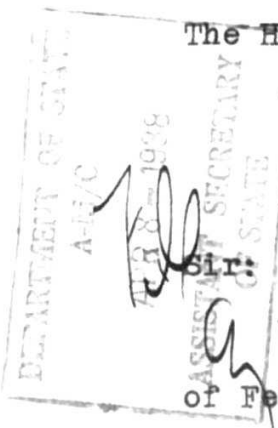
DEPARTMENT OF
STATE
RECORDS

FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK Yes No
To the Field ☐
IL L. S. A ☐



865D.01/435

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.



Sir:

With reference to the Embassy's despatch No. 3904 of Feb. 14, 1938, reporting Mr. Eden's answers in the House of Commons regarding the steps taken by the Dutch Government relative to the recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, I have the honor to enclose herewith a clipping from Hansard which publishes a statement in

APR 11 1938

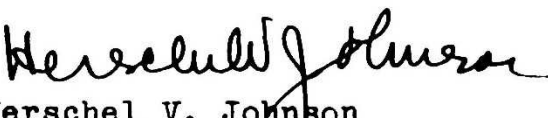
FILED

N/C

in the House of Commons on March 17, by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on the British recognition of the Italian Government as a Government de facto of virtually the whole of Ethiopia.

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:


Herschel V. Johnson
Counselor of Embassy

HM:RYN

ABYSSINIA.

Mr. Boothby asked the Prime Minister whether he will make a statement with regard to the date on which His Majesty's Government recognised the Italian Government as the Government *de facto* of virtually the whole of Abyssinia?

Mr. Butler: His Majesty's Government have, since December, 1936, recognised the Italian Government as the Government *de facto* of the parts of Abyssinia which they control. From time to time the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs has, in the course of the past year, been asked for statements for production in His Majesty's Courts of Justice in connection with certain lawsuits in which the status of Abyssinia has been involved. The first of such statements was made on the 28th April, 1937, to the effect that, while detailed information was hard to obtain, such information as His Majesty's Government possessed tended to show that the Italian Government controlled the whole of Abyssinia with the exception of certain areas in the south and south-west of the country; that His Majesty's Government regarded the Italian Government as the Government *de facto* of the parts of Abyssinia which they controlled; and that while it was difficult to fix a specific date on which His Majesty's Government first accorded this measure of recognition to the Italian position in Abyssinia, it might be said that that position had been reached in the second half of December, 1936.

The last of these statements was made on the 29th December, 1937, when the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs repeated that His Majesty's Government recognised the Italian Government as the Government *de facto* of the parts of Abyssinia which they controlled; that according to the information in the possession of His Majesty's Government the Italian Government were then in control of virtually the whole of Abyssinia; and that therefore His Majesty's Government recognised the Italian Government as the Government *de facto* of virtually the whole of that country. No later statement by His Majesty's Government on the particular point at issue has been made.

No. 97

LONDON, March 25, 1938.

SUBJECT: British de facto recognition of Ethiopia.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

With reference to the Embassy's despatch No. 3904 of Feb. 14, 1938, reporting Mr. Eden's answers in the House of Commons regarding the steps taken by the Dutch Government relative to the recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, I have the honor to enclose herewith a clipping from Hansard which publishes a statement
in

in the House of Commons on March 17, by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on the British recognition of the Italian Government as a Government de facto of virtually the whole of Ethiopia.

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:

Herschel V. Johnson
Counselor of Embassy

HM:RYN



No. 97

LONDON, March 25, 1938.

SUBJECT: British de facto recognition of Ethiopia.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington, D. C.

Sir:

With reference to the Embassy's despatch No. 3904 of Feb. 14, 1938, reporting Mr. Eden's answers in the House of Commons regarding the steps taken by the Dutch Government relative to the recognition of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, I have the honor to enclose herewith a clipping from Hansard which publishes a statement
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in the House of Commons on March 17, by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, on the British recognition of the Italian Government as a Government de facto of virtually the whole of Ethiopia.

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:

Herschel V. Johnson
Counselor of Embassy

HM:RYM





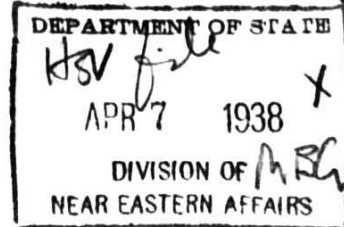
RECEIVED
LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Dublin, Ireland.

1938 APR 6 AM 11 44

No. 72.

March 21, 1938.

SUBJECT: The Recognition of Ethiopia by Ireland.



Copy in Eu-94

FOR DISTRIBUTION - CHECK

Yes No

To the Field

IL L. S. A.

Copy to MLD

APR 11 1938

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Strictly Confidential Information Series No. 41-A of January 15, 1938, and to page 10, paragraph (d) Ireland, thereof, relating to "De Facto Recognition of Ethiopia", wherein it is stated that Mr. de Valera, replying to an accusation that Ireland, in according recognition of the Ethiopian conquest, had recognized the "greatest piece of international violence, etc." had stated, "that there was no common agreement at Geneva on the subject of the recognition of the conquest."

Attention is invited to this Legation's confidential despatch No. 41 of January 3, 1938, wherein it is reported

that

865D.01/436

APR 15 1938

FILED/C

that at a meeting of the Oireachtas (Irish Parliament) on December 14, 1937, Mr. de Valera in making his announcement of the appointment of a Minister from Ireland to Italy, stated, in answer to questions, that while the issuance of letters of credence to the Irish Minister appointed to Italy addressed to the King of Italy as Emperor of Abyssinia appeared to put the fiat of approval upon the conquest of Ethiopia, it did not do so. It was, according to Mr. de Valera, simply a recognition of existing facts and took into consideration a de facto status of the King of Italy in regard to Ethiopia rather than a de jure one.

This despatch of the Legation is based upon the authentic reports of Mr. de Valera's statement in the Oireachtas.

Respectfully yours,


John Cudahy

Copy to Embassy, Rome.

File No. 801./cr 701.
JC/tw

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.5665/11 FOR #838

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED Mar. 25, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

Recognition of Ethiopian conquest by Netherlands in
presentation of credentials of new Minister to Italy
to the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia".

✓ emc

865D.01/437

865D.01

ROME, March 25, 1938.

No. 838

Subject: New Netherlands Minister presents his credentials recognizing the Ethiopian conquest.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to refer to the Embassy's despatch No. 742 of January 7th, 1938, and other correspondence concerning the recognition by The Netherlands of Italian sovereignty in Ethiopia and to report that the new Netherlands Minister to Italy, Mr. J. Hubrecht, has arrived in Rome and presented his credentials to the King on the 19th of this month. These were addressed to the King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia, a fact which has been hailed with considerable satisfaction in the Italian press.

Upon his arrival in Rome, Mr. Hubrecht was received with elaborate ceremony at the station, the First Secretary of The Netherlands Legation states that he has never known of a similar reception to any Dutch Minister, and a considerable amount of publicity was given the event.

Mr.

Mr. Hubrecht, who is well known to the Department,
called upon me this morning.

Respectfully yours,

William Phillips.

ASR/wrm
701.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.00/340 Confidential File FOR Tel 41-noon

FROM Poland (Biddle) DATED March 31, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ...

REGARDING: Recognition of Italian conquest of Ethiopia. Inquiry made by Churchill of Blum as to whether he was prepared that both Blum and Chamberlain should recommend to the League the,--

fp

865D.01 / 438

Confidential File

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.00/341 FOR tel #520 6pm

FROM France (Wilson) DATED Apr.1, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Recognition of Italian East Africa

Appointment of an Ambassador to Italy
by Belgium: Belgian king feels the
Italian Empire exists and an ambassador
should be on the ground to speak for
Belgium

dg

865D.01/ 439

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.65/524 *Confidential File* FOR Tel. #81,6pm

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED April 4, 1938.
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Great Britain to submit question of recognition of Ethiopia
to the League at the next Council meeting.

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.65/527 Confidential File FOR Tel#287 9 p.m.

FROM Great Britain (Kennedy) DATED Apr. 6, 1938
14- NAME 1-1127 o r o

REGARDING:

Conversation with Halifax regarding the Italo-British agreement. States England to recognize the conquest of Abyssinia since it would require a war to restore the throne to the Emperor of Abyssinia.

ML

CONFIDENTIAL FILE

865D.01/441

865A.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.6865/5 FOR Tel. #22 11am

FROM Greece (MacVeagh) DATED Apr. 6, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 o r o

REGARDING:

Italian conquest in Ethiopia recognized by Greece in
accrediting of the Greek Minister as "near the Emperor
of Ethiopia".

emc/

865D.01/442

865d.01

JR

GRAY

Athens

Dated April 6, 1938

Rec'd 7:44 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

22, April 6, 11 a.m.

The Prime Minister confirmed to me this morning the press reports to the effect that the Greek Minister in Rome has informed the Italian Government that Greece considers him henceforth accredited near the Emperor.

MACVEAGH

RR



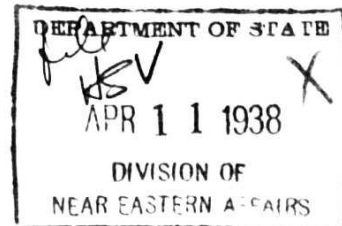
LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Capetown, Union of South Africa.

March 17, 1938.

NO: 107

Subject: Recognition of the Annexation of
Abyssinia.



865D.01/443

rlh
The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that in answer
to a question in the House of Assembly on March 15,
1938, as to the attitude of the Union Government in

regard.....

APR 15 1938

FILED

regard to the recognition of the annexation of Abyssinia by Italy, General Hertzog, the Prime Minister, stated

"I do not think it is in the interests of the State to make a statement regarding the matter at this stage."

Respectfully yours,


L. J. Keena,
American Minister.

LJK/P

800
714

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 500.C 112/1332 FOR Tel #56 11 noon

FROM Geneva (Bucknell) DATED Apr. 11, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 8 P O

REGARDING:

League of Nations Secretariat has received a request from the British Government that the question of the status of Abyssinia be placed on the agenda of the next meeting of the Council.

865D.01/444

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.5551/3 FOR #1991

FROM France (..... Wilson) DATED Mar. 30, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ...

REGARDING:

Belgian Ambassador to Rome will be accredited to King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia; appointment of Count de Kerchove de Denterghem as Ambassador is first appointment since resignation of Prince de Ligne on account of the Ethiopian crisis.

emc
✓

865D.01 / 445

445

865D.01

Paris, March 30, 1938.

No. 1991

Subject: Change of Belgian Ambassadors to France.

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,

Washington.

Sir:

Count de Kerchove de Denterghem, who has been Belgian Ambassador to France since November 5, 1935, presented his letter of recall last week, and will depart next week for Rome whither he has been transferred. He will become the first Belgian Ambassador to Rome since the resignation of the Prince de Ligne on account of the Ethiopian crisis, and will be accredited to Victor Emmanuel II as both King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia. His successor at Paris will be Monsieur Pol Le Tellier, now Minister of Belgium in Moscow.

Respectfully yours,

Edwin C. Wilson
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim

In quintuplicate
LH:jwd

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.6517/10 FOR #957

FROM Nicaragua (Carrigan) DATED Apr. 6, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ...

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian sovereignty in Ethiopia accorded
by Nicaraguan Government in acceptance of new Italian
Minister as representative of the King of Italy and
Emperor of Ethiopia.

✓ emc

865D.01/446

✓
✓
6

865D.01

Managua, D.N., Nicaragua, April 6, 1938.

No. 957.

Subject: NEW ITALIAN MINISTER PRESENTS CREDENTIALS

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that Barón Gioacchino Scaduto Mendola di Fontana degli Angeli, Italian Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Nicaragua, arrived in Corinto and proceeded to Managua March 20, 1938.

The Minister presented his credentials to the President, before the usual ceremonial gathering of the Diplomatic Corps and the Cabinet, on March 23. He was accredited and received as the representative of the King of Italy and "Emperor of Ethiopia."

The Minister departed from Nicaragua on March 25, 1938, for Costa Rica where he resides.

His stay in Managua was not marked by any especial attentions or courtesies other than those usually accorded to persons of his rank.

Respectfully yours,

John Willard Carrigan,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim.

A true copy of
the original
document.

7659.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 740.00/346 FOR tel #556 5pm

FROM France (Wilson) DATED Apr. 7, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127

REGARDING: Recognition of the Ethiopian Empire

Massigli feels the British will
encounter more difficulties in Geneva
regarding - particularly from the
Chinese and Russians.

dg

865D.01/447

7659.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 760f.62/205 FOR tel #590 6pm

FROM France (Wilson) DATED Apr.12, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Recognition of the Italian conquest
of Ethiopia:

British Ambassador states his Government
does not look for serious difficulties
at the meeting of the League Council
to consider question of releasing
member states from their objection
not to recognition the conquest.
There will be little disposition, except
for China and Russia, to block the British
initiative.

dg

865D.01/448

MURRAY HILL 2-3315

Ans. 4/17/38
1/38 V/3C.

April 25 1918.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
file HSV
APR 15 1938
DIVISION OF
RECORDS AND COMMUNICATIONS

865D.01/449

Very truly yours,
LEON A. MNUCHIN,
By *[Signature]*

FILED

April 25 1938.

In reply refer to
NE 865D.01/449

My dear Mr. Mnuchin:

With reference to your inquiry of April 14, 1938,
you are informed that this Government has had no occasion
expressly to define its position in regard to the political
status of Ethiopia as an independent nation.

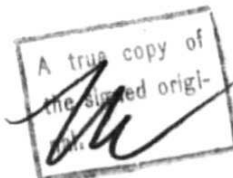
I may add that American diplomatic and consular
offices in Ethiopia were closed in March, 1937, in
accordance with the Department's usual practice of ter-
minating such services in any district where they are no
longer required by American interests.

Sincerely yours,

For the Secretary of State:

Wallace Murray
Chief, Division of Near Eastern Affairs

Mr. Leon A. Mnuchin,
Counsellor at Law,
511 Fifth Avenue,
New York, New York.



NE: RSV/CC

MSG

EW
JH
HWC
JPM

865D.01/449

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

865D.01/450

SEE 701.5565/8 FOR #843

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED Mar. 30, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 070

REGARDING:

Belgian recognition of Italian sovereignty in
Ethiopia on presentation of credentials by new
Ambassador to "King of Italy and Emperor of
Ethiopia".

emc
✓

450

865D.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 751.65/371 FOR Tel.614- 5pm

FROM France (Wilson) DATED April 15, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ...

REGARDING: Ethiopian recognition. Statement of Massigli that he did not know what procedure would be followed at Geneva in dealing with, - but believed it might be possible to avoid the problem of unanimity by some such procedure as adoption of a resolution recognizing that in view of the action already taken by a number of states, the members of the League should be free to act as each thought best in the matter.

fp

865B.01/451
x 51

EG

This message must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (C)

Paris

Dated April 15, 1938

Rec'd 11:05 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

614, April 15, 5 p.m.

CONFIDENTIAL

Massigli informs me that the French Government intends to try to negotiate an agreement with Italy before the meeting of the League Council. The British have been urging both the Italians and the French to reach an agreement without delay. He said that the agreement, if it is possible to negotiate one, would not contain very much; it would be a "facade" a gesture, an effort to improve the summary. He said that the Foreign Office entertains no illusion as to the possibility of a change in Mussolini's policy; Mussolini might in fact desire to acquire a little greater freedom of action vis a vis Hitler but his possibilities of accomplishing this are distinctly limited since German troops have appeared on the frontier.

I asked if there was a possibility of sending an Ambassador to Rome before concluding the Franco-Italian agreement. Massigli said that he did not (repeat not) think so. It might be decided to send a "personality"

to

Eu
NE

751.65/371

762.65

761.5765

-2- #614, April 15, 5 p.m. from Paris

to Rome on special mission to negotiate the agreement
or the agreement could be negotiated by Blondel.

(END SECTION ONE)

WILSON

WWC:HPD

EG

This message must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (C)

Paris

Dated April 15, 1938

Rec'd 10:55 a.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

614, April 15, 5 p.m. (SECTION TWO)

865d.61
Massigli said that he did not know what procedure would be followed in Geneva in dealing with Ethiopian recognition but believed it might be possible to avoid the problem of unanimity by some such procedure as adoption of a resolution recognizing that in view of the action already taken by a number of states the members of the League should be free to act as each thought best in this matter.

While it has not yet been definitely decided it is probable that Daladier and Bonnet will go to London to confer with Chamberlain and Halifax prior to the Council meeting. Hore-Belisha will stop off in Paris the end of next week after his visit to Rome in order to see Daladier.

Copies to London, Rome, Berlin. (END MESSAGE)

WILSON

RR:WWC

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.65/536 Confidential File FOR Tel#319 5 p.m.

FROM Great Britain (Kennedy) DATED Apr. 15, 1938
#0/ NAME 1-1127 GPO

REGARDING:

Contents of letter from Lord Halifax relative to
Italo-British conversations - recognition of Italian sovereignty
over Ethiopia.

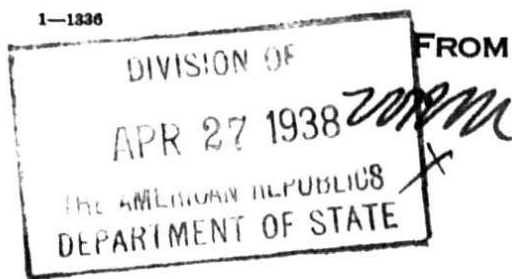
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8654.01
865D.01/452
CONFIDENTIAL FILE

TELEGRAM RECEIVED

REB

1-1336



GRAY

Rome

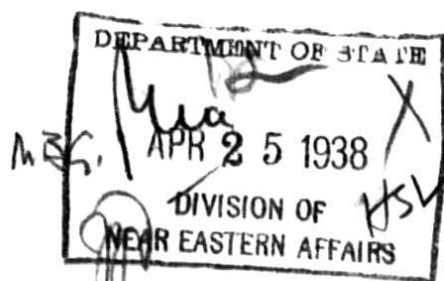


Dated April 25, 1938

Rec'd 2:52 p. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington.

96, April 25, 6 p. m.



An official communique published this afternoon announces that the Brazilian Ambassador called on the Minister for Foreign Affairs and informed him that the Government of Brazil considers its Ambassador in Rome to be accredited to "the King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia".

PHILLIPS

WWC

GW

APR 28 1938

FILED

N/C

865D.01/453

NE
EU
RA

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.6574/6 FOR #60

FROM Bulgaria (Atherton) DATED Mar.31,1938
TO _____ NAME _____ 1-1127 o p o

REGARDING:

Recognition of Italian Conquest in Ethiopia
by Bulgaria on presentation of credentials
of new Italian Minister as representative
of the "King of Italy and Emperor of Ethiopia".

enc
✓

865D.01 / 454

No. 30

Sofia, March 31, 1938

**Subject: Recognition by Bulgarian of
Italian Conquest of Ethiopia.**

The Honorable
The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that in reply to the address on March 26, 1938, of the new Italian Minister to Bulgaria, the Marquis Tolame, on presenting his credentials, King Boris began his remarks with the words: "I am particularly pleased to receive from your hands the letters by which His Majesty the King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia, your August Sovereign, etc."

This is the first official recognition by Bulgaria of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia, although the title

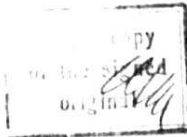
of.....

of Emperor of Ethiopia was mentioned in the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation between Bulgaria and Italy recently signed at Rome. This fact was commented on in the Legation's despatch No. 35, of January 17, 1938, with which was transmitted a translation of the treaty above referred to.

While not commenting on the question editorially, all local newspapers gave particular prominence to the recognition by King Boris of the King of Italy as Emperor of Ethiopia.

Respectfully yours,

Ray Atherton



File 701.1/801
KGM/MM

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 770.00/521 FOR #858

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED Apr. 8, 1938

19/

NAME

1-1127

U P O

REGARDING:

Views of the Balkan Entente with respect to recognition
of the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

ML

865D.01/455

865D.01/455

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 500.C 112/1338 FOR #231 Political

FROM Geneva (Bucknell) DATED April 12, 1938.
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

Question of Ethiopia. Encloses copy of document C.122.M.69.1938, containing the text of the note addressed by the British Government to the Secretary-General of the League requesting that the - be placed on the Council Agenda.

865D.01/456

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 701.60f65/1 FOR Tel #89, 5 pm

FROM Italy (Phillips) DATED Apr. 19, 1938
TO _____ NAME _____ 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: A communique published in afternoon's newspapers announces that the Minister of Czechoslovakia has informed the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs that the Czechoslovak Government considers its Minister at Rome as accredited to the "King of Italy, Emperor of Ethiopia".

viii ✓

865D.01/457

865D.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 741.65/543 FOR Tel #628 6pm

FROM France (Wilson) DATED Apr. 20. 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

RÉGARDING:

Recognition of the Italian conquest
of Ethiopia.

Counselor of the Soviet Embassy states
his country and China can be counted
upon to place as many obstacles as
possible in the way of Great Britain
and France when the latter try at Geneva
to obtain freedom of action to recognize
the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

dg

865D.01/458

865D.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 500.C 112/1337 FOR Tel 65 1pm

FROM Geneva (Bucknell) DATED Apr. 22, 1938.
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING:

Recognition of the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. Hoo, Chinese permanent delegate, informed today that the Chinese will in all probability oppose any resolution or recommendation by the Council which would give a basis for British or other -.

G

865D.01/459

865D.01

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE760f.62/215..... FORTa. 632- 5pm.....

FROMFrance..... (.....Wilson.....) DATED April 22, 1938.....

TO NAME 1-1127 ...

REGARDING: Statement of Osusky, Minister of Czechoslovakia, that Czechoslovakia's action in recognition of the conduct of the conquest of Ethiopia was, of course, an abandonment of principle.

fp

865D.01/460

460

DOCUMENT FILE

NOTE

SEE 711.00/894 *Confidential File* FOR Tel. 191- 11am

FROM Germany (Wilson) DATED April 22, 1938
TO NAME 1-1127 ***

REGARDING: Government- Italian East Africa. Representatives of the small European states particularly Scandinavian states, Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands look with apprehension, upon any action at this time tending to revive the Ethiopian issue in light of the Kellogg Pact or other instruments.

fp

865D.01/461

461

Confidential File



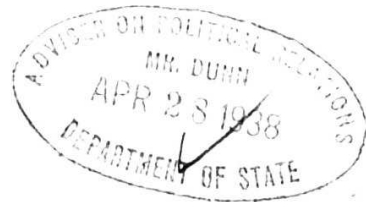
EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA



LONDON, April 14, 1938.

No. 205

SUBJECT: Abyssinia



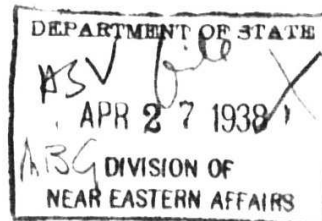
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APR 29 1938



The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

Sir:

With reference to previous despatches concerning Abyssinia, I have the honor to report that in the House of Commons on April 11 the Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs gave the following answer in reply to a question on the present position in Abyssinia:

"There appears to have been no appreciable change in the situation in Abyssinia since my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied to a similar question by the hon. Member for Cumberland North (Mr. W. Roberts) on 21st February. My information is that the Italian authorities

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authorities are in military control of virtually the whole country. Resistance to Italian authority appears to be of an unorganized and local character and to be confined to Western Abyssinia, more particularly to the provinces of Amhara and Gojjam. On the frontiers of Abyssinia the situation is normal and the status quo is being maintained."

Asked whether it was the intention of the British Government to submit any proposals for the recognition of Abyssinia to the Assembly of the League or to secure, instead, the consent of the Council, the Prime Minister said:

"On 9th April His Majesty's Government addressed to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations a letter requesting that Monsieur Avenol would include in the agenda for the forthcoming session of the Council the question of the consequences arising out of the existing situation in Ethiopia. I am arranging for the text of this letter to be circulated in the Official Report."

Following is the text of the letter referred to:

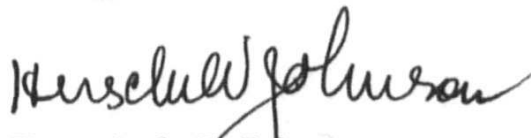
"I am directed by His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to inform you that His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have had under consideration the anomalous situation arising from the fact that many States members of the League, including no less than five of the States represented on the Council, recognize that the Italian Government exercise sovereignty over Ethiopia or have taken action implying such recognition, whereas other States members of the League have not done so.

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom are of the opinion that this situation should be clarified, and I am, therefore, to request that you will include in the Agenda for the forthcoming session of the Council the question of the 'consequences arising out of the existing situation in Ethiopia.'"

(Hansard, cols. 740-742.)

Respectfully yours,

For the Ambassador:


Herschel V. Johnson
Counselor of Embassy

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

~~DATA~~
WCM

DIVISION OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS

April 27. 38.

Mr Suggan:

assuming

there is no action
which this Division
should take. I have
initialed this with
"X" so it can go on
to NE and Ed.

JMM

Central File: Decimal File 865D.01, Internal Affairs Of States, Italian East Africa, Government. Mandates, Recognition., June 12, 1937 - November 15, 1939. June 12, 1937 - November 15, 1939. MS European Colonialism in the Early 20th Century. National Archives (United States). Archives Unbound, link.gale.com/apps/doc/FSC5109729978/FGDSC%3Fu%3Domni%26sid%3Dbbookmark-GDSC. Accessed 18 June 2025.